The Nation

Vol. CV NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 23, 1917 No. 2721

The Week

OFFICIALLY, the German Government is quite taken by surprise by the Pope's peace proposals. It announces that it will have to study them "carefully" before expressing any opinion. This is good form. It might not do, despite the stories about the Catholic Archbishop who was sent to Rome to give Benedict XV a good idea of Austro-German terms, to let the whole truth get before the people at once. So the plan seems to be to let the matter seep into popular knowledge. The few comments of the German press thus far reported show that the process is under way. One journal seizes upon the suggestion that the German colonies be restored, and declares that at least this feature of the Pope's programme is excellent! The rest will have to be pondered. Incidentally, the resentment in Germany at the proposed evacuation of Belgium entire has its bearing upon what the Vatican says about its undertaking to be a peacemaker, not a judge, and so having refrained from pronouncing any moral verdicts. It is true that in the past the Pope has not left the world in doubt of what he thought of the crimes committed in Belgium. He has honored and trusted Cardinal Mercier, who has repeatedly arraigned the German authorities for their atrocities with the boldness and zeal of an ancient prophet. But even taking by itself the demand that Germany shall lift her iron heel off the neck of Belgium, and we have moral condemnation writ large. German evacuation would mean German confession.

MR. GERARD has done at least one service by the publication of the Kaiser's telegram to President Wilson. He has brought it home again to the German people that they have really been without self-government. And the comments of the Liberal German press upon the Kaiser's indiscretion of 1914, as now revealed, are surprisingly outspoken and bitter. At first, the official organ of the Government stated that it was in a position to affirm that no such message had ever been sent by the Kaiser. But before the ink was dry on that statement, came the printing of the authentic text of the telegram in Washington. The point was sure to be made in Germany, as it has been with emphasis, that this meddling of the Kaiser in foreign relations was a distinct violation of the pledge which he made to the Reichstag when Prince Bülow was Chancellor and threatened to resign unless William II would agree to keep his hands off the conduct of foreign affairs. And it is not only the Kaiser who now comes in for severe arraignment in the German press. Chancellor Michaelis and the new Foreign Secretary are sharply taken to task for having shuffled and misrepresented in the matter of the Kaiser's telegram. The whole has been one more disagreeable disclosure of one-man power in Germany.

ALONG with mutterings at all this, go the signs of renewed discontent over the whittling away of the promises of internal political reform. The new Prussian franchise is not forthcoming. And as for the alleged "parliamentarization" of the Ministry, it is proving to be a good deal of a deception. In this connection, the speech which Herr Haase delivered in the secret session of the Reichstag acquires fresh pertinence. Its publication was not permitted in Germany. But the Swiss Socialist newspaper, the *Berner Tagwacht*, carried a long report of it. Herr Haase was openly incredulous about the intent to democratize the German Government. The Junkers and the militarists would not, in his opinion, surrender their power until compelled to. And he dwelt in a remarkable passage upon the way in which the military domination had been displayed, not only in the choice of a new Chancellor, but actually in the matter of accepting the peace resolution of the Reichstag. Here are his words:

> The fact that these generals were called in to participate in a political crisis throws a brilliant light on the condition of our Constitution. And yet naïve persons still dispute the existence of that specifically Prussian militarism which permeates our whole life. Did not our new Chancellor declare that even the Reichstag's peace resolution had first of all received the approval of the Supreme Command? Is there one single country in the whole world in which such a thing were possible, in which the military are not only summoned to direct the military side of the war, but also the political, and either to give the Chancellor the directions for his speech in Parliament, or at least to draw up the directions with him?

HOW far the proposal of Secretary McAdoo, for a 4 per cent. partly taxable war loan, is merely tentative is not yet certain; but the proposal will undoubtedly receive consideration. Its purport is that, although a 4 per cent. interest rate be fixed on the next loan (as against 3½ for that of June), the new bonds shall be made subject to the supertax on incomes, though still remaining free of the normal tax. The idea is not new; it was adopted by the British Government, in its offer of 4 per cent. "tax-free" bonds for last February's war loan, as an alternative to the 5 per cent. offer, subject to income tax. Unlike our own, all previous British Government loans had been subject to every form of income tax. The 4 per cents were to be made free of the "normal" or "basic" rate of taxation, but not of the surtax. In that very large subscription, little more than 2 per cent. of the applications—£22,658,000 out of £988,706,000—were for the tax-free issue. This might appear to indicate indifference to the tax. But, as a matter of fact, the difference in the terms of the two kinds of bonds—interest rate, maturity, and subscription price—was so arranged as almost exactly to allow for the existing normal British income tax. Therefore, the only inducement to take the tax-free bonds in preference would have been expectation of a considerably higher basic income tax rate, and its long continuance. Since neither result was reckoned on by the investing public, it was evidently good policy to take the taxable bond on the more inviting terms.

A 4 PER CENT. war loan as suggested by the Washington dispatches, being free of the normal income tax, would retain the advantages of the present loan for all investors with an income below $5,000. Of the applications

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for the recent $2,000,000,000 3½ per cents, $1,296,000,000 were for lots of $10,000 or less. A fair proportion of these must have come from investors who would still be free of tax under the new proposal, while receiving ½ of 1 per cent. more in interest, besides the privilege of converting their 3½ per cents into 4s. Presumably, their subscriptions to such a new loan would be increased. How far the larger subscriptions would be affected depends on the other question, how many of the $3,035,000,000 applications for the recent loan were attracted by its immunity from the income supertax. There would remain, in case of the new experiment, some other considerations. One is, that a policy which has always worked well for the Government—not only in floating its past loans, but in converting and redeeming them—would be at least partially abandoned. Another is that a 4 per cent. loan, free of the normal tax, would presumably affect, more unfavorably than the last loan, outstanding investment bonds and savings bank accounts. The force of that consideration would depend, in large measure, on the practical questions whether another loan could be floated at 3½ per cent.

THE promptness of the punishment visited upon two members of Exemption Board 99, in New York, who confessed to accepting bribes to excuse drafted men, is most pleasing, though many will feel that the sentence inadequately measures the shame of the offence. The one thing intolerable in administering the draft is corruption on the part of the administrators. Black as taking a bribe is at any time, it is far worse when it interferes with the efficient construction of an army in war, and betrays democracy by letting a rich man buy the opportunity to make a poor one accept the risk of death for him. The Government had to call into its service a huge corps of officials, who are giving in many cases not days, but weeks, of time and effort. It would have been a splendid fact if they had done their work without breath of reproach, and Board 99 furnishes the first instance of a violation of the trust of which we have heard. Deputy Attorney-General Conkling deserves praise for the vigorous and unerring way in which he ran the offenders to earth.

THE War Department has taken gratifying action in reversing its previous decision to segregate the negro troops in the army, break up existing brigade organizations along color lines, and rigidly keep the colored troops out of the South. It has now decided to treat them just like the others, and so the Eighth Illinois Regiment will go to Texas with the other Illinois troops. This is in accordance not only with justice and military efficiency, but with good sense. In France colored troops have been fighting with a bravery that no one denies. No Frenchman has thought of drawing the color line; and nothing would astonish the French more than to learn that there should be social distinctions among men who are giving their lives to a joint cause. They have not forgotten over there how a colored battalion of French troops vacated a perfect shelter to give place to a column of wounded men, suddenly brought under German fire. This band of gallant natives of Africa was cut to pieces as they left their place of safety. Secretary Baker has been wise enough to see that our colored troops must not be sent into action to carry democracy forward, while smarting from anti-democratic discrimination at the hands of the country for which they are asked to give their blood.

A VERY interesting report has recently been published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics on the effect upon employees of poisons used or produced in manufacture of explosives. The munitions industry, on a large scale, is comparatively new in this country, and therefore it was not to be expected that the factories which shot up overnight all along the Atlantic seaboard would be equipped with appliances for protection of labor. The report shows conditions to be disquieting. Out of less than 30,000 workers who came in contact with poisons, about 2,200 suffered from occupational poisoning. This seems a high percentage. Some cases proved fatal; many were serious. In addition, some of the poorly managed factories, where medical supervision was less strict, could not or were unwilling to give the complete figures of their sick-list. So that the actual injuries to health in the factories examined probably surpassed those recorded by the statisticians. But it seems that few women, and practicaly no children, are employed in this dangerous industry. The Bureau's investigator outlines preventive methods, and gives regulations adopted in Great Britain and several of our own States for factories making explosives. From these a code ought to be drawn up by the Government and rigidly enforced in all establishments working on Government munition contracts.

BEFORE adjourning last Thursday, representatives of thirteen Central States resolved that the price of coal was "unreasonably excessive, and in many cases extortionate," and called on the Governors and State Defence Councils to submit exact costs of production to another conference, August 23. The conference also urged immediate action by the President and Federal Trade Commission fixing a price; but it seems clear that the States wish to have at least an advisory hand in determining rates. The operators are asking for purely Federal control, and this has bred a suspicion that they count on more liberal treatment from the Federal than from the State Governments. The very fact that an interstate conference has been necessary—and not all the States invited have attended—points to the propriety of giving the Federal authorities a free field. At the end of May the Federal Trade Commission declared the price of soft coal far too high, but the Government had not then its present power to control the situation. Now the Commission, or some other agency designated by the President, can move decisively. The record of the Commission ought to remove all fear on the part of the States that it will be too lenient. A Government agency, working with the Federal Labor Department, can measure the bearing on prices of the strike for higher wages now spreading in certain Western coal fields, and take a broader view than State authorities.

EVERY one must sympathize with Mr. Root's disgust and disappointment that the Russians who are now returning to their old home from America are giving us such a bad name in Petrograd. It truly seems the height of ingratitude that, after being received here with open arms, presented with freedom of residence and worship, and allowed to become, if naturalized, part and parcel of our political life, they should now return, declaring that America is more arrogant and tyrannical towards its citi-

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zens than the Russia of the Czar. That is not what we expect of those to whom we have given political asylum, and the phenomenon as reported by Mr. Root is so mortifying as to make it highly desirable that as soon as possible there should be a careful inquiry into these allegations. Do the hundreds of thousands of their fellows who remain here share this view? If so, why? We know life is hard in the foreign colonies of our cities, that our failure adequately to house and care for immigrant populations often makes for their discontent. Every social worker knows of many remediable social ills on New York's East Side. But is there more than that? Do our police courts, the occasional grafting policemen, and the petty official tyrannize over the humblest of our population? Does government as well as their social situation bear unfavorably upon them? These are questions we should like to have answered that the slanders may be refuted.

AT last the documents covering negotiations between German and Russian army chiefs during the doubtful period of last May and June, when it was feared Russia might be induced to make a separate peace, have been published in Petrograd and translated into English. The German proposals suffered from the same vagueness and patent lack of sincerity that have pursued all their other peace tentatives. Prince Leopold of Bavaria offers an armistice and possibility of peace, without betrayal of Russia's allies. No details of how this is to be done are given. But he insinuates that the Allies deserve desertion because of the predatory treaties they entered into with the Czar's Government for the dismemberment of the Central Powers. Germany, he says, has refrained from attacking the Russian armies from a desire for peace and to stop unnecessary bloodshed. The Russian answer was curt and to the point. How is a separate peace possible without betrayal of Russia's allies? Why do not the German generals succinctly state what they mean by peace without annexations and indemnities? As for the fact that they have not attacked on the east front, that is because their main forces have been transferred to the west. As soon as they have crushed France and England, they will turn and enslave Russia and crush the revolution. The Prince's rejoinder was merely to make a clean record for himself by accusing the Entente of rapacity and land-greed. The Russian rejoinder was to call on all patriotic citizens to die for their country defending it against "the German mailed fist."

FOR the first time since the occupation of Warsaw by the German army, in August, 1915, there are reports of Polish unrest. Two years of German rule have not brought the Poles nearer to the realization of the hopes held out to them in the beginning by the conquerors of the Russian army. National feeling was for a time placated by the reopening of the University and the Polytechnic Institute, which were strengthened in some respects by the appointment of well-known Polish scholars. There was also an apparent disposition of the German commander to cooperate with the Polish National Committee in the reorganization of the elementary schools. Yet far-sighted Polish leaders held aloof and were suspicious of German motives. When Governor-General von Beseler read, in the old royal palace of Warsaw, a manifesto promising, in the name of Germany and Austria, the erection of a new kingdom of Poland, the rector of the University, Dr. Brudzinski, answered in a speech of studied reserve. The prospect of a separate peace between the autocracies of Russia and the Central Powers seemed to the Poles much nearer than the early appointment of a liberal ruler for the new Polish kingdom, and events since then have justified their suspicion. The Poles are now turning to the new Russia, whose promise of Polish independence bears sincerity on its face and inspires them with real hope. Meanwhile, the German military governor of Warsaw finds it increasingly difficult to gain the confidence of the Polish Provisional Regent grudgingly appointed by him in answer to repeated demands of the National Committee, which is also clamoring for the long-promised convocation of the Polish Diet. The whole Polish situation is bound to have a military effect along the entire Russian front.

IT is a good omen for justice and order that State and Federal officials are together dealing with the threatened I. W. W. disorders in the Far West. The result of the hearings in the cases of the twenty-seven men arrested at Spokane on Saturday should show just how far preventive rather than remedial measures are possible. State officers are in at least some cases for forcible action forestalling strikes. "It is fatal to attempt to conciliate this element," Gov. Stewart of Montana told the recent conference of six Governors at Portland. "Get them before they have a chance to start anything, and put every mother's son away where they can tell their troubles to the wardens and prison guards." This is arguing for the high-handed practices which the President condemned at Bisbee. As there are really debatable questions of hours and wages involved in some of the disputes in which the I. W. W. is organizing workers, it would be bad tactics as well as injustice to make martyrs of leaders by jailing them without reason. The record of the I. W. W. and the widely circulated utterances of its heads are such that it seems likely that leaders can here and there be arrested on substantiated grounds of sedition or disorderly intent; and their arrest and summary punishment would give a salutary lesson to prospective lawbreakers. This we may leave to the sense and energy of the Department of Justice and the States.

A FEW years ago one would have said that the leopard could as easily change his spots as the American people its passion for haste and recklessness. But to-day there seems no great incongruity in the appearance of a series of page advertisements urging "carefulness" upon the public. The appeals that are being made in Philadelphia newspapers by Pennsylvania corporations and individuals are directed primarily to employees of manufacturing and other business, although insurance companies add their names to the list of signers. In all these cases one may allege selfish motives, now the workmen's compensation is an established principle, but this is an instance of selfish interest that does not clash with the public interest. A workman injured through negligence causes loss to his employer or to an insurance company, but the loss falls partly upon himself, too, while there is the usually unconsidered loss to society, which is deprived temporarily or permanently of his contribution to its material assets. The warning is needed as much by persons who are not protected by compensation laws, but whom this fact does not deter from taking risks. It may be impossible to make us careful by law, but cannot advertising do anything?

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Starting Peace Discussions

A REVISED translation of the Pope's appeal makes somewhat smoother reading of it in English. Not all the obscurities are removed. Some of them appear to be obscurities of thought. And most people who take the trouble to read the letter over carefully will be confirmed in their first impression that its proposals have a German tinge. This is evident both in phrasing and in ideas. But what else could we expect if Pope Benedict is, in effect, stating the terms of peace which Germany is ready to concede? That he is doing so there are cumulative indications. A "political personage" in Berlin is quoted in the *Lokal-Anzeiger:* "I think I may say that Benedict XV knows the German peace conditions, and surely has communicated his knowledge to the enemy group." Note, too, the comparative silence of the German press and official world. The Allies are vocal. Germany is as one waiting to see how her offers made through the Pope will be taken.

Now, on this theory, no one should have looked for entirely satisfactory terms at first. The nation at war which decides that it must undertake to negotiate a peace always begins by asking more than it expects to get, and offering less than it believes it may be compelled to yield. For nearly a year the German Government, convinced that it cannot win the war, and that even prolonged fighting means ruin, has been bidding for peace. It has done so grudgingly, boastfully, in true *more Germanico,* but it has done it. Terms it has till now refused to mention. And if finally, as there is so much reason to believe, it confided the task to the Vatican, clear-eyed men would not suppose that it would at once go the whole figure. The maximum is never granted at the outset. The main thing is to get the discussion started.

It *is* started. Replies to the Austro-German proposals are already being made. Lloyd George made one last Thursday. It was not such in form. He never mentioned the Pope's letter. But his cheery and resolute speech, with its frank disclosures of the English food supplies and shipping resources, was, in effect, a notification to the German Government that Great Britain feels in far too strong a position to listen to an inadequate bid for peace. For the first time he revealed the full tale of English losses by submarines, reckoned in tonnage. He did not include the sinkings of neutral vessels, or those of other countries at war with Germany, but as regards the British marine he set forth all the facts. The whole showing is highly encouraging. Even if the rate of destruction by submarines is kept up—which is unlikely—the new English tonnage, together with ships purchased abroad, will make the year's net loss not to exceed 1,500,000 tons. This is saying nothing of American shipbuilding. And Lloyd George opened the English larder, showing how increased the supplies are over those of last year, and how much brighter is the food outlook.

All this was not put out by the British Premier merely to cheer up his own people. It was partly designed for the effect on Germany. The German officials, of course, know that Lloyd George was telling the truth. But the facts are not known to the German people. This is one of the things complained of in the censored speech of Herr Haase in the Reichstag. He referred to the early glowing predictions that the submarines would force England to ask peace "within a few months," and showed how they had been falsified. He then asked: "Is the nation to be kept in the delusion that England will soon be forced to beg for peace?" To answer such discontented questioners in Germany is undoubtedly one motive that Lloyd George has in laying so many of his cards upon the table. Another purpose he has is in this way to let the German Government know that it must offer more explicit and better terms of peace before they will be considered hopefully.

Thus far the negotiations are at arm's length and indirect. But time is sure to sharpen the issues and bring the debate closer. The fundamental of the whole, the absolute minimum which will be demanded of the German Government, and which it must concede before the rest can even be talked about, is known to all. It is regarded as indispensable by English pacifists and Socialists, as well as by the most militant. It was stated by Mr. Asquith in words which there is no doubt all the nations at war with Germany would make their own:

> I put a blunt and specific question with regard to Belgium. Is Germany prepared not only to evacuate Belgium, not only to make full reparation for the colossal mischief and damage which has accompanied her devastating occupation and her practical enslavement of a large portion of the population, but to restore to Belgium, not the pretence of liberty, but complete and unfettered and absolute independence?

When Germany has squarely answered that question, the peace negotiations can go on. But first she must answer it.

A Defect in the Draft Law

DESPITE all that has been written on the conscientious objector, there is plenty of evidence that his situation is still entirely misunderstood, notably by the New York *Times,* which recently said that under the existing law his rights were sufficiently safeguarded. But the fact is that the American law, being far less liberal than the English law, covers the case only of the objector who is a member of a recognized religious sect (Quaker, Mormon, etc.) whose creed includes objection to war on moral and religious grounds. Even then our law specifies that these religious conscientious objectors may be assigned to non-combatant duties. Naturally, there are many conscientious objectors in other churches whose creeds do not forbid participation in war, and many others who belong to no church at all. For these our law makes no provision whatever. The fate before them is that they will be tried by court-martial and subjected to some punishment not yet specified, because the law fixes no penalty. Hence the court-martial *may* impose a death sentence, but as a matter of fact the War Department must fix the penalty, and if it is wise and sensible it will profit by British experience and send all of these prisoners under a year's sentence to a military reservation for agricultural service, under civilian control so that no military guards will be drawn off from active service.

England was more liberal, for her act specified flatly that unlimited conscientious objection would be recognized. Lloyd George himself expressly stated that in the Commons. *Pace* Mr. Elihu Root, Parliament realized that shooting dissenters from war at sunrise creates more dissenters —as Ireland has since proved—and cures nothing. Par-

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liament did not specify that conscientious objectors should belong to sects, but laid down the principle that a man's conscience should be inviolable by the Government. This is the proper position for any Government to take that is warring upon a Prussianism whose most objectionable political creed is that the individual shall be totally subject to the will of the state, the state being in this case the military autocracy and the Kaiser. Such trouble as has arisen in England in the enforcement of the law there is owing first to the mistakes of the local exemption boards, "tribunals," to the abuse of conscientious objectors by military men—a bad case of this was recently aired in Parliament and the responsible officer punished—and finally to the insistence of the Government that there should be alternative semi-combatant service. This the uncompromising objectors have refused, with the result that there are several thousand in prison. Unfortunately, we have copied this last mistake of the British, the ruling being that all Quakers must be assigned to non-combatant service behind the lines. Already there are protests from the Quakers, and the results will be bitterness of feeling and more arrests, if this policy is not changed.

This is the more deplorable because the conscientious objectors are quite ready to perform any service which does not contribute to the taking of human life. The Quaker unit being formed at Haverford, Pa., for reconstruction service abroad is willing to be put under fire if thereby it can advance humanity and bring some relief to the sufferers from German cruelty and gunfire behind the French lines. Many of the British Quakers have been performing what is perhaps the most dangerous service on the water, mine-sweeping. It is hard, perhaps, to convince people that conscientious objectors are not swayed by any craven fear, or by a desire to live if by dying they can advance Christianity and the day of peace, but it is none the less a fact. Many of the first English objectors suffered terrible tortures in the British barracks, tortures quite severe enough to satisfy even Col. Roosevelt's wrath against them, without flinching, without weakening. They will be heard from when reorganization comes after the war, for they have proved their sincerity and their willingness to suffer all for their beliefs.

Now, the pity of our American situation is that, unless Mr. Wilson acts and urges Congress to modify the law, a great deal of suffering and bitterness will be created. Some splendid spirits—splendid even though they seem to the bulk of Americans to be unpatriotic idealists or religious fanatics—are likely to be broken at the hands of the courts-martial. Congress to-day will pass any law that Mr. Wilson asks it to pass to bring the war to a successful conclusion. Should he ask it to-morrow for a statute really exempting religious and non-religious objectors and permitting him to accept volunteers from their ranks for the service of reconstruction abroad, the bill would pass in twenty-four hours and no harm would be done and much good would ensue. There are not enough in this class to affect the military situation, and no objectors could be created now by offering this opportunity because the draft is so nearly over—the legislation could be postponed until it is over—and no sincere conscientious objector would be found whose objection was of overnight growth. As a matter of fact, in England very few fakers were found. The kind of craven falsifier who pretends to conscientious scruples is not the kind of man to stand being abused in barracks and subjected to great public reproach and to ostracism and imprisonment. He takes the easier course of going with his fellows and chancing it. But the opportunity before the President for a generous and noble act is very great; we ought not to let England outdo us in generosity and respect for conscience, for this country was founded on the principle of conscientious religious liberty, and in our war for democracy we ought to be more than ever devoted to the foundation-stone of any democracy, which is freedom of conscience.

After-War Reconstruction

INVETERATE human optimism has not let the world forget that peace is coming. As the strain has grown greater, "after the war" has been on men's lips with more wistful frequency. But only slowly do they appreciate upon what a changed earth peace will dawn. Various statesmen have said, in words of which Lloyd George makes especially emphatic use, that in home affairs as well as in international "we will never go back to the old order." Lately there has been established in England a Ministry of Reconstruction, the duties before which are necessarily vague, though the very title lets in a little of the vision of the transformed future. Already in Britain a Reconstruction Committee has made recommendations as to the relationship between capital and labor which must be built upon the special relationship held intact by war pressure. Another board has been planning for the civil employment of some of the hosts of war-born aviators. But any single problem is a detail in the huge scheme of impending reconstruction. When we remember the tax upon statesmanship involved in our Reconstruction after the Civil War, we may glimpse the need for governmental and social effort when the greatest of wars is no more.

The problem of reconstruction, as a Ministry devoted to it would conceive it, is primarily one of rehabilitation after the war's tremendous destruction, and of readjustment of the forces temporarily out of their sphere. The former aspect is so great that we can only look with horrified interest, but not comprehension, on premature estimates. We are told that before the last German retreat in France nearly 1,000 villages had been wholly or partly destroyed; that in Poland 5,000 human settlements have been wiped out; that in East Prussia, a drop in the bucket, the destruction was appraised at $200,000,000. Frenchmen have estimated the deficiency in their labor supply at 1,500,000 men; and that in the war zone $600,000,000 will be required to replace industrial machinery—$100,000,000 for textile machinery alone. The whole world will bear a hand in binding up such gaping wounds as Belgium's. To convert the machinery mobilized for war uses will be an equally huge task. Never in history has the whole strength of nations been thrown into a conflict as in Europe. Nor will Europe have any such opportunity to lose her problems and hardships in new developments as America, with her immigration and free flow of products from farm and mine, had after the Civil War. The United States will herself have armies to transport home and war industries to convert. But the statesman's task of reconstruction must be much broader than that of mere repair.

From its gigantic beginnings this war meant more than a conversion of various institutions for its special ends,

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with reconversion to follow. It was shattering, and made *new combinations* inevitable. In large part they shaped themselves from the beginning as so manifestly desirable as to become indispensable. Men have been lifted out of routine inertia, and old hobgoblins of custom and timidity seem suddenly empty and foolish. In such a world-convulsion a revolutionary atmosphere descends that makes even conservatism do strange things. The Britain of 1914, full of sore abuses and imminent social quarrels, facing military war in Ireland and industrial war at home, is to the vision of less radical men than Lloyd George already a changed Empire. It will emerge with stronger national and Imperial unity; with the Irish question, all hope, settled in the light of a new liberalism; with the suffrage broadened; with agriculture revivified; with education improved under pressure of general insistence; with capital and labor better disposed than ever before, and both with new ideas of the possibilities for the common good in maximum production; with new industries, and efficiency achieved in old ones; and with a new national psychology. So much for constructive forces before Reconstruction begins!

As for Germany, the displaced Chancellor promised months ago a transformed interior policy "in the direction of new and enlarged freedom." We must trust the German people to make this mean more than the time-serving reforms of Stein, Hardenberg, and Bismarck. In the current *Harper's*, Kuno Francke, deprecating the idea of a republic, admits significantly that "there is every likelihood that the Socialists will come to be the dominant party, and that their ascendency will force all other parties to compromise with their democratic programme." Dr. Dernberg says that "the new Germany is here and requires its house. Let us build it." The possibilities before Russian reconstruction defy analysis.

The way in which the war ends will mean everything to the quality and quantity of reconstruction. But we on the Allied side have no fear that the ending will not be right. And after the war the intentness of European statesmanship—democratic statesmanship—upon reconstruction will offer a chief ground for the dissipation of old hostilities. Its pressing demands will absorb energies that might otherwise find undesirable expression; and in all countries the tasks will be so much alike, the solutions so often alike, that this fact cannot but slowly build up a spirit of comradeship. They will help teach the peoples the solidarity of their fundamental aspirations.

A Protest Against Professionalism

ONE has to admire a man who flings his gauntlet in the face of the Sphinx. F. H. Hayward, fortified by the armor of a D.Litt. and B.Sc., joins Molière, Plato, and Shaw—every pyramid must have an apex—in writing a screed, entitled "Professionalism and Originality," against the diploma-caste. Molière is dead, and so is Plato, while Shaw seems to be rapidly fading as an international noise. But doctors, lawyers, teachers, poets laureate, popular novelists, not to speak of the newer categories, such as deep-breathers and perfect relaxers, still go marching on. For amateurs life daily becomes less and less bearable. Specialists beset every highway and byway. There was a time when any barber could openly practice surgery, and all the world be a "publicist," if its stuff got into the magazines. How the times have changed! Every inch of our bodies now boasts a specialist; every square yard of thought and emotion has been preëmpted by a cap and gown. Who, when lightly speculating on pragmatism or the single tax, has not been met with that cool, pitying stare of the expert with a book or half-a-dozen articles on the subject to his credit? Modern man has been put in blinders, lest, looking to the right or left and discovering scenes beyond his understanding, he might shy and his reason go tottering over the abyss.

This constitutes the chief indictment against professionalism, the denial of a man's inalienable right to talk about things he doesn't understand. All the other vices, upon which Mr. Hayward lays such particular stress, dwindle into insignificance beside this terrific tyranny. Caste conspiracy, aimed at presenting an unbroken front to the world, is bad enough. Molière's Médecin confesses the expert's attitude when he says: "For God's sake, don't let's quarrel; we want to get all the credit for a cure, and make nature take the blame of our failure." The surgeon who never mentions the sponge or forceps left by his absent-minded predecessor in an appendicitis wound enjoys the same frame of mind. Blind respect for style, such as led British generals to drive their soldiers up the face of a cliff in the Boer War, leads to worse things. Love of technicalities, like the quashing of an indictment for want of the dot over an *i*, is another obnoxious quality of the specialist, as is his hatred, his loathing of originality, innovation, and genius. But with these defects of character ordinary man has little to do. His body he willingly offers up, when occasion demands, to the Professional, as well as his worldly goods. Let geniuses and reformers fight the battle against the caste. He is convinced that Originality would not have half a chance if it did not regularly meet with opposition from old-fogeydom. Besides, average man hates genius as much as he does the specialist, because Genius is equally frank in its contempt for lay opinion. In fact, he is never so fortunate as when the two tyrants fall out with each other. Their quarrel is likely to bring him into his own. Never did the public have so splendid a chance for inaccurate table-talk as when Darwin came along and set Spencerian science by the ears.

"A plague on both your houses," cries Everyman. He knows exactly what he likes in the field of art and literature, and intends to express himself freely without interference from critics. He doesn't want either Ibsen or a fellow with a diploma from some school of play-writing or other, telling him what he must enjoy. He *will* talk about coal-tar products or the Gary system or Futurism. The need of modern life is conversation. Professionals constantly gird at the Tired Business Man for his lack of interest in things "that count." Yet, on his first attempt to say what he thinks, they squelch him with taunts of "leave it to us experts." Wives tell their husbands that they don't know anything about women's clothes except the way to pay for them; husbands insist that their womenfolk can't ever understand baseball. True enough. But should that prevent them from talking about it? What a narrow view of mutual thought-exchange this betrays! Does not every broker discuss the weekly bank-statement eloquently, without having a very distinct idea of its significance? The greatest charm of conversation consists in that penumbra

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of mystery and confusion which surrounds midnight arguments all of us have had on such comprehensive subjects as the immortality of the human soul. Coleridge's talk, like a series of splendid mirages, left the listener in a state of bewildered delight.

The remedy, then, would seem to be a mutual and universal tolerance. Life has got down to a basis where all of us are specialists in something, even if very few of us happen to be geniuses. We must put ourselves diligently in the other fellow's place. If he talks nonsense about our specialty, why, we are at full liberty to turn round and babble about his. We always have the consoling knowledge that he will come to us for his medicine or law when he is ill or in litigation, no matter what his heresies. Nobody when asked in company to explain the nature of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" should, like Dickens's character, take refuge in the expert's quibble and retort, "I will answer that question some time when there are no ladies present." Let talk be unconfined, out of business hours. Professionals and Original Geniuses may pursue their private feuds as they will. Wagner and Meyerbeer at loggerheads can but cause joy to the tyro. "Themes," "Leit-motif," "music-drama," "theory-of-the-drama," and a host of other fertile topics for amateur discussion come out of it. If only the great mass of the average be true to themselves and one another, they can easily succeed in rending the web of Professionalism and Originality which has been spun about them by modern life.

The Canadian Crisis

SIR ROBERT BORDEN'S proposed measure of conscription* for Canada would seem to have caused considerable mental trouble in various quarters, and the prospect of strong disturbances in French Canada. The respective views taken of the strength of feeling involved may be gauged by the fact that, knowing the circumstances, Sir Robert Borden still brought in his measure, that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the leader of the Opposition, risked splitting his party by proposing a referendum on the ground that such a measure was not justified until the public sense on it had been taken. A strong body of Liberals, availing themselves of the "liberty of conscience" Sir Wilfrid had authorized, came out for conscription, including conscription of wealth, a vague term, and finally Mr. Bourassa, who is convinced that he speaks for Quebec at present, promised unutterable things if a referendum was not taken, and even asserted that a majority in Quebec was necessary to enforce it in that province. There may be some ground for the contention he urged, possibly in an extravagant fashion, for Sir Wilfrid Laurier himself urged that Quebec was particularly the locality needing education in a matter which was sprung on them so precipitately, and in the negotiations between himself and Premier Borden there were significant interviews with the Provincial Premier of Quebec before Laurier gave a *non possumus* to coalition.

Before examining this vital question of the relation of French Canada to the rest of the Dominion it is expedient to clear the ground of the question of party politics so far as they are involved. The Borden Government has not given complete satisfaction in its management of Canada's share in the war, if one may judge by the frequent signs of discontent and revolt among its own followers. The want has been one of a definite lead in opinion and a master hand in administrative control. The Opposition has been patriotic in support of war measures, though it would say, perhaps, that considering the openings afforded, the pledge to abstain from party warfare has been more than flesh and blood could endure. It was looking forward, however, with some complacency to the forthcoming election, all the more so because successive provincial conservative governments had been defeated amid scandals and gross corruption. The time of the Borden Government expires this autumn, and the Opposition was little inclined to consent to an extension, as no offer of coalition had been made in the earlier days of the war.

From a party point of view matters were none too rosy for Sir Robert Borden when he sailed for England to take part in the Imperial Conference. Party politics in these moving times may not be uppermost in Sir Robert's mind, but he was accompanied on his journey by his chief party manager, the Hon. Robert Rogers, who is credited with the opinion that *l'état c'est nous* and whose own political conduct is at present being investigated *à huis clos*. (He has since cleared himself.) It was on the return of Sir Robert Borden from England, after visiting the front, learning the Russian position from inside, and gathering the sense of feeling in the War Council, that he brought forward his proposals for conscription and suggested a coalition to carry them. If the Liberal party looked at these proposals with any party feeling, it must have made a wry face, for it had a reasonable prospect of the whole, not half the loaf. There was a suggestion of party feeling in the concluding note that passed between Borden and Laurier, for the Premier undoubtedly was at pains to fasten on Sir Wilfrid a label characterizing his attitude.

But the situation of itself prevented Laurier from considering merely the narrow party point of view. For him even larger issues were at stake than a stormy Premiership in his closing years. His own reputation has been fully made. He has been for English-speaking Canada an inspiring representative of French-Canadian culture and

*Since the above was written the Conscription bill has passed the lower house by a majority, on the second reading of about 2 to 1, on the third of about 3 to 1, while Sir Robert Borden, not having obtained general support for his resolution to extend the life of the present Parliament, will be constrained to appeal to the country before the act is put into full operation. The debate in the Commons was chiefly notable for the obvious wrench in sentiment experienced by most Liberals at differing from their leader, and also for the fact that on a Friday afternoon the Government was careless enough to neglect having a quorum of members on hand, so that the bill had to be reintroduced the next week. Since there is to be a general election the anti-conscriptionists in Quebec and elsewhere can complain of no constitutional hardship, and if a conscriptionist majority is returned the verdict will probably be generally accepted. And yet when has conscription been imposed by a people on itself in war time? It has always been by the act of rulers or governments, and the Conservatives are wise to make the election rather a vote of confidence than a referendum on the policy. The issue will lie with the silent voter and the Dissentient Liberal. If Sir Wilfrid Laurier should win he will be in a difficult position. His Quebec supporters will be for "passive participation" in the war. His patriotic wing will advocate carrying out the act which is on the statute book. He himself has declared he is "in the war" heart and soul, in the same way in which Australia is, though it has rejected conscription. There is, indeed, ample room for organizing the nation for war in the vigorous way in which America is acting, suppressing profiteering and satisfying public opinion that the Government is insuring a "square deal" in spite of high prices and scarcity of commodities. The present Government has frequently incurred odium for its tenderness to the big interests. But, again, the major issue in these critical days is to hold fast, and keep the Canadian battle line intact and up to strength.

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creed. He was Premier in the brilliant opening years of Canadian prosperity and greatness. He has found and followed the golden mean of a sane and loyal imperialism. He was not afraid to risk closer relations and a freer exchange of goods with the United States, at a time when the consumer was harder pressed than the producer. At the Imperial Conference he was the one outstanding figure who made his mark for largeness of outlook, sobriety of view, unrivalled judgment, and wisdom in counsel. He is the one pure Canadian statesman who stands for the unity and concord of Canada as a whole, and at the same time believes in a commonwealth of British nations, effective throughout the chain of the present states of the Empire, created and animated by the spirit with which the older Pitt considered the American Revolution, the spirit of Burke and Fox, the spirit which gave self-government to Canada and to South Africa, and the spirit of Lord Morley's Indian reforms. He has seen his efforts for the two causes of Canadian unity and the unity of British races thwarted by one man, and the Borden policy threatens to put it in the power of that man to destroy both schemes. The man in question is Henri Bourassa, his rival in the hold on French Canada, which hold is the key of the whole situation.

To understand the position of French Canada it is necessary to go back a little. The French element in Canada, once the most important, has for a time been reduced to a minor position in Canadian affairs. The canton system of the provinces has confined it as an entity to its own province of Quebec. The opening of the West has made it only a fractional element in Canadian life. There it has lived its picturesque life and developed its own culture, with the great city of Montreal as the metropolis of its intellectual activity. The *Canadien* has professed a passive loyalty to the British Empire. Towards any idea of crusades or militarism in any form he has adopted the normal attitude of the man with the hoe. He became mildly alarmed at British Imperialism of Boer War days, and the same feeling agitated him when Sir Wilfrid Laurier, under the menace of the German storm-cloud, brought in his Navy bill in 1911. Availing himself of that feeling, Mr. Bourassa split the French-Canadian vote and, allying himself with the Borden party, caused the defeat of Laurier. In doing so he earned for French-Canadians the deep resentment of Canadian Liberals as a whole. That must be borne in mind in view of subsequent events.

Mr. Bourassa has a clear-cut policy of his own, expressed in a trenchant, forcible fashion in his paper *le Devoir*, for he prefers to direct his party from an editor's chair rather than from a back bench at Ottawa. The culture and scholarship of his style make his articles a "feast of reason" with a spice of malice. He professes a vague loyalty to the Empire while looking forward to a future independence. He preaches that as a doctrine for Canada as a whole, not a French-Canadian view. But his intransigeant domineering nature would enforce that view on Canada, overriding the prejudices and affections of much of Canada beyond Quebec. Having proved—in a previous article, as he would say—that his views are the most logical policy for Canada, he expects the respect that would be given to a proposition in geometry. Of recent years he has nourished his party on the agitation over the educational rights of the French-Canadians in Ontario. For, although in allying himself to the Borden Government, he defeated Laurier's naval policy, in other respects he handed French-Canadian interests bound into the tender care of Eastern conservatism, which is of a violent Orange hue. Of recent years there has been a French-Canadian *trek* into Ontario, and the new-comers have demanded instruction for their children in their own tongue. That right seems inherent in the Canadian Constitution, but is not verbally expressed in the statutes concerned. French-Canadians as a whole have employed every constitutional means to obtain that right. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as on a previous occasion in Manitoba, has earnestly pleaded for consideration on the ground of "courtesy" and equity. But the plea has been in vain. Ontario takes up the position that "this is a British province." Last year a legal decision of the Privy Council confirmed the right of Ontario to control its own education. The French may have theoretic rights, but their operation is stopped by local provincial statute rights. The Pope, moreover, counselled that French-Canadians should refrain from pressing the point, in order that dissension might not become extreme, and Catholic education, apart from French Catholic, might not suffer harm.

Mr. Bourassa, who is a good son of the Church, made partial submission. But none the less the fact remains that his Nationalist party was the foe of the Laurier Liberals and the tool of the Conservatives. They obtained a number of minor offices from the Borden Government. They may before the war have checked any imperialistic tendencies on the part of that government, but they obtained nothing for French-Canadian interests. They had estranged the Liberals, who refused to support Laurier's suggestion on the education question, and on the outbreak of war they were overwhelmed by the rally of Canadian feeling towards the mother country and its recognition that not to strain every effort in this war would mean saddling the country with the load of militarism indefinitely.

We enter the last phase with French Canada somewhat estranged from the Dominion as a whole. With the natural disinclination of a rural population to large enlistment, many were inclined to believe the statements of Mr. Bourassa that Canada had no active concern in the war. Then came the inevitable recriminations of British and French about "doing their duty": A handling at the recruiting akin to the way of the British War Office in Ireland (a Methodist minister in khaki is the chief recruiting officer in Catholic Quebec), accusations of cowardice which kindled the wrath of the so far indifferent Quebec youth—the same charge that reinforced the Sinn Fein ranks tenfold—and as the war went on the situation became embittered, with wild rumors pervading Ontario 90 per cent. false, and over the storm-cloud Mr. Bourassa ringing his clamant tocsin of denunciation of all and sundry who differed from his views.

It was then that, consequent on his return from the Imperial Conference and after the new orientation of Russia, Sir Robert Borden proposed conscription for Canada. The general reception was somewhat mixed, there being on the whole considerable anxious thought, though it would seem that English-speaking Canada was settling down to "seeing this thing through." But in Montreal there would seem to have been something approaching an *émeute*. The violence of the disturbances, and Mr. Bourassa's disclaimers and counsels of calm, reinforced by the Catholic hierarchy, suggest that the uproar was fomented by secret German agents, but the Mayor of Montreal at a mass meeting expressed himself in language not hyphenate but represented by blanks and dashes!

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This was the expression of the more excitable half of the populace. Mr. Bourassa declared that if coerced humanity would be staggered. The feeling in authoritative quarters seems to be that the greater part of the province would invoke all constitutional and legal rights and would respect also the law and the Constitution. The view of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was that a plébiscite was necessary in order to convince Quebec that conscription could be legally enforced. Parliament, Mr. Bourassa declared, was not moribund but *mort*. As a second line of defence great play was made of the fact that the field of Canadian conscription at present was the wheat field and the potato field. The new British Food Controller, it may be noted, declared that food power was equal to man power; but nevertheless there remains the fact that the Canadian divisions are being depleted, and voluntary recruiting is not enough to keep them up. The voice of the trenches has been spoken by a Canadian soldier-poet:

> If ye break faith with those who die,
> We shall not sleep, tho poppies blow,
> On Flanders fields.

Such is the inspiration of the hour. The patriotism of Borden and Laurier alike is unquestioned. What is necessary is the spirit of wisdom and understanding in all quarters and in all minds; purged of lower considerations and given that, a way can be found. Crises often clear the air by revealing what is at stake. What is needed is to discover the line along which the interests of the cause, the Empire, and Canada are one and identical.

W. M. CONACHER

The Conscientious Objector

I—His Place in the State

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It goes without saying that if we have espoused a cause, we have pledged ourselves to do something more than merely see it through; we are in honor bound to put it through. Apparently the national obligation does not present itself to some minds in this light. There are still "conscientious objectors," those whose individual visions pierce beyond the clouds of warlike eras, such as that in which we live, to the soft serenity of an idealism of perpetual peace. They say: "This is not of our liking, this bloody, wholesale murder; it is not of our liking, it is not of our making, it is not of our choosing to be involved in it; in short, it is not our intention to allow ourselves to be involved in it. We are conscientious objectors!"

Now a democratic society requires of its members, first, a recognition of the social entity as distinct from mere governmental instrumentality, and, secondly, a degree of altruism sufficient to permit them to subordinate egoistic interest to social precept. This is more than obedience to law; it is loyalty to the ideal of democracy; it is the indispensable quality of democratic citizenship; it is the *sine qua non* of the existence of the social entity. We are not considering nations as isolated forces in this connection. Nations are only larger units in the social cluster, but they are so much larger than persons that they bear a somewhat different relation to society from that of persons. Yet in this essential they are alike: namely, that both the nation and the individual in a democratic society render themselves unfit for survival in that society if they fail to subordinate self-interest to social interest.

This principle is so fundamental that it is true to say that no democracy could be perpetuated without strict adherence to it on the part of each member of society. A disinclination to submit self to social precept is simply a notice of one's disavowal of democracy. It is a clear indication of one's social irresponsibility. One may defend such extreme individualism on a number of grounds, just as one may defend cowardice. As to joining the army, one may say that one would rather be killed than to kill, or one may say that individual liberty knows no will higher than one's own. One is entitled to hold such views and live in a democratic society; that is freedom of thought. One is entitled to preach such views and still live in a democratic society; that is freedom of speech. But one is not entitled to put such views into practice and still live in a democratic society, for that would be cowardice and anarchy. Cowards and anarchists are as socially impossible as would be members of a football team who developed a dislike for line plays, preferring, forsooth, open play because there would be less likelihood of their hurting somebody in the open play. If, upon signal, such players refused to charge with the rest of the team, it would be plain to the most casual observer that they were no longer desirable persons on the field. It is too bad that an unpleasant association attaches to the terms employed above, for no disparagement is meant; it is entirely possible to hold the views of a coward and an anarchist and still receive the consideration due to an idealist. Nevertheless, although such transcendental dreamers may have place in the realm of speculation, they have none in a democracy.

This was the trouble with Germany. As a nation, a large unit in the social cluster, yet still only a part of society, subsisting because the whole subsisted, Germany deliberately ignored social precepts. As soon as this fact became apparent, Germany ceased to be a desirable member of society, and the social entity, whose precepts it had spurned and whose progress it sought to impede, went about to inculcate this Teutonic transcendentalism with a sense of the true proportion of the issue involved. The issue is simply that between exaggerated individualism and democracy; between anarchistic idealism and purposeful social evolution; or, to the rational mind, between barbarism and civilization. The answer to the preposterous self-assertiveness of "conscientious objectors" is precisely the same as the answer which civilized mankind returned to their Teutonic prototype: "Go as far as you like with your *Kultur*, but don't interfere with democratic progress. If you do interfere, we're sorry, but the worse for you."

This means coercion of conscientious objectors. But what right has the nation to coerce? Have we not admitted that the nation is only a larger unit in society? What license does it derive from that fact which gives it power to impose its will upon the lesser unit? Indeed, would not such action be tyranny? These are legitimate questions: let us look into them.

It is a matter of common knowledge, recognized by everybody who has observed the social structure, that there exists a series of imbricated entities, each of which is larger than the one lying under it, the man and woman and child, the family, the coterie of friends, the larger coterie of friendly acquaintances, the community, be it village, town, or city, the geographical district, the nation, the community

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of nations, that is, society, larger than any other entity and embracing all other entities. In this series of entities, each entity plays a perfectly definite part in societal activity, and each one is subordinate to the one which overlaps it, until the outermost entity is reached; and here, for the time, as long as human intelligence can discern no larger forms, a proximate ultimate is recognized, whose laws are final. Today this proximate ultimate is the democratic cluster of nations which we call civilization.

In the development of this civilization each and every one of the lesser entities is vitally concerned; but, for unquestionably sufficient reasons, each of the lesser must, to a degree, act through the superior entities that enfold it. Thus one's family, one's community, one's district, one's nation, one's community of nations, are instrumentalities through which alone the individual's relation to society is secured. Some anarchistic idealist will object that this is but a piece of mechanism, that no principle is involved. True, it is a piece of mechanism in exactly the same sense that the solar system is a piece of mechanism; and, so long as human beings continue to be restricted in their relations by time and space, so long will this piece of mechanism continue to exist. To attempt to ignore it is to evince a streak of imbecility. To attempt to transcend it is to aspire to the genius of Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon. Now society wants neither persons evincing streaks of imbecility nor persons of the predatory genius of world conquerors. Conscientious objectors belong to the former class, the German nation to the latter.

But why are conscientious objectors accused of trying to ignore the social mechanism? Are all such to be called anarchistic idealists? Yes. Even those who object on the miry ground of mere pacifism, and those with religious scruples, and those, like Bertrand Russell, who imagine intellectual democracies, which recognize no nations, and skeptics, who doubt the validity of the democratic claims of the Allies. For the objection which society brings against these persons is not one of speculative philosophy, but of societarian conduct. The great social democracy of civilized nations finds itself confronted by a crisis of the first magnitude. One of its former members has turned anarchistic, and is striking, with destructive effectiveness, its former associates in civilized society. To stop this wild insanity of exaggerated individualism, this hideous, ape-like orgy of Nietzschean Prussianism, society is straining every effort. The life of democracy is plainly at stake. Under such circumstances the one who refuses to fight, or who says he would rather be killed than to kill, is contributing to the destruction of the social entity, and for no other reason than that of an overweening sense of self-importance; that is exaggerated individualism; that is anarchy.

Now here in the United States, with ten million men registered for army service, is the one great opportunity for us to show what the most advanced democracy can do in exacting from its members a subordinating of egoistic interest to social precept. This is a test of democracy, the abjuring of self for the sake of society. Knowingly to allow the shirking of this responsibility would be to approve those who disclaim the first requisite of democratic citizenship. On the other hand, if the Government puts its hand strongly to the task, we shall not only place in the field ten million democratic soldiers, but we shall have demonstrated that a democracy can successfully put itself to the test. Nay, rather than yield to the selfish sentimentality of our idealists of the cowardly, anarchistic, and skeptical types, we must take the first aside and say to him: "You idealistic coward, you aren't fit to send into the trenches, but if you are to continue to eat and sleep and walk abroad in this society, you shall be made to do things which will assist those who are in the trenches." And we must take the second aside and say to him: "You idealistic anarchist, your conceit is so prodigious that society is compelled, out of pure altruism, to teach you the importance of your relative position. You shall be sent to the firing line forthwith, in order that you may quickly see that your ego, as compared with that of the social entity, is negligibly infinitesimal." And we must take the third aside and say to him: "You idealistic skeptic, you really want what we do. You shall see." And, at break of day, we shall lead him forth and show him the world. There he will see that, athwart the fields of France, and far over the ocean and the prairies, the morning sun is striking its golden flame upon the word Democracy, written in letters of blood across the blue of the western sky.

HENRY B. HALL

Rochester, N. Y.

II—Conscience and the Church

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There can be little doubt that the churches of the country are behind the Government in the prosecution of war against the ruthless German autocracy. This one cause is so emotionally compelling as to make it difficult to think clearly of some of the problems inevitably raised, yet no deeds of practical mercy, no success in firing the soul of the nation as to a holy crusade against Germany, can relieve Christianity from the necessity of facing certain inevitable problems which nearly concern her very life. Some of these problems cut deep into all our thought and action. It is my desire to state them so as to evoke thoughtful discussion.

THE PROBLEM OF THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR.

It is easy in war time for cowardice to take the cloak of conscience, but no Christian can fail to realize that in the history of the Christian Church there have been men whose consciences have made them believe that participation in war, even for a just end, was a denial of the Christ whom they were trying to follow. They are loyal to their country, but they believe that loyalty can best be shown by remembering that the Christian's highest loyalty is to the Kingdom of God. The question at issue at present is not whether those men are right who would seek to overcome evil by other means than by active participation in the hell of war. A majority of Christians think they are wrong. Can a majority attempt to coerce the individual conscience in this vital matter? Even the Government has recognized the existence of this conscience which may lead men to choose death or imprisonment rather than to take part in battle. Hence they have granted exemption from combatant service to members of well-recognized religious sects whose creed or principles forbid participation in war. Conscience is individual and not corporate; not all conscientious objectors are Quakers. When the church countenances the denial of this fact, she is cutting the ground out from underneath her. Her Bible was written by men who were

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in small minorities. Her Master bade His followers to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's—and conscience is always God's. The claim of the state to coerce conscience is a blow to that freedom of religion which has made America great and which has attracted to her shores her noblest sons. If conscientious objectors are wrong, a Christian must trust to the power of reason under God to set them right. It is not a matter of indifference to the church when the cry is raised once more, "We ought to obey God rather than men." The Federal Council of Churches recognized this in its declaration of last May: "When the state compels men to military service, it raises the ancient religious question of freedom of conscience. Churches which have furnished martyrs for this principle are under particular obligation to see that the conscientious objector is allowed such non-combatant service as does not violate his conscience. We, therefore, request the administrative committee to carefully consider what practical steps can be taken to secure this end." More, however, is obviously demanded than this excellent declaration. What will the church do about it?

Problem of the Church Universal.

We have abundantly attested our belief that not even war can utterly destroy the brotherhood of believers. The Socialists, too, hold a faith in brotherhood, which was sadly shaken by war; but the stirring of the old passion is already at work among them, and they are seeking by means of international conference, which only the uninformed can dismiss as purely a pro-German intrigue, to create once more that feeling of solidarity among the workers which will find a way out of the indescribable horrors of war into the haven of a general and democratic peace.

There may be a reason why the governments of all nations should be somewhat fearful of this Socialistic conference, which conceivably may come to have not merely an international but an anti-national quality. It is not my present purpose to discuss this, but the churches, which in all nations have supported their respective governments with a fervor the church of the Middle Ages hardly bestowed on the Crusades, are surely above suspicion. Could they not therefore assemble in some neutral country a conference of believers who at the very least would pray that God might no longer be grieved by the spectacle of men professing faith in the same Christ, using all possible means of destruction to kill one another? If we really hope that Christianity will conquer the world and make for brotherhood, our loyalty to that brotherhood becomes the supreme factor in our lives, and we ought to use the church as we have never dared in the past to inspire men to find ways to make that brotherhood real. Under existing circumstances any claim of the church to universality must be viewed by a realistic world with mingled sorrow, amusement, and contempt; yet even now there is time for the church of the living God to arouse herself and challenge the world with a new vision of Christian unity.

The Relation of the End and Means.

The Christian Church has taught individuals that the end does not justify the means. However, the church has endorsed war in a just cause. It is legitimate for a Christian to employ all that is involved in bayonet charges and the use of poisonous gases, of bombs and great cannon. One may deceive the enemy or bribe his soldiers to betray their country, and Christianity countenances it because it believes that only so can a just end be attained. The declaration of the General Assembly of the powerful Presbyterian Church, after pledging its support to the Government, specifically declares that war is "irrational, inhuman, and unchristian." There can be, therefore, no question that the church, Protestant as well as Catholic, recognizes that for the state the end justifies the means. Hence it becomes highly necessary that thoughtful leaders should restate the doctrine of the relation of ends and means in the whole realm of ethics. Perhaps we Protestants have not been quite fair to the Jesuits—or are the Germans right who say that the state is above the ordinary moral law?

The Church and the Use of Violence in Labor Disputes.

Heretofore the church has with reasonable consistency held that the use of violence was not allowable in labor disputes. Laborers might have very just grievances against industrial autocracy, grievances which affect the well-being of themselves and their families even more than problems of right international relations. Sometimes laborers have used violence in an effort to get justice, though never have they used such indiscriminate and systematic violence as is involved in international war. In such cases the church has said not merely that violence was inexpedient because there was a better way, but that it was wrong *per se*. After giving her blessing to the violence of men engaged in wars for their country, can she consistently tell the same men that it is wrong for them to employ a similar method to get justice in the economic spheres? This question gives pause to many ardent churchmen whose zeal for this war is only matched by their antagonism to violence in labor disputes. One of them puts the matter thus:

> Most emphatically the church has not in this country, though it has in Germany, of course, endorsed the use of violence to obtain any good thing either for nations or for groups of society. What the church has done is to sanction the use of violence to repel violent measures in behalf of wrong. I am sure the churches of America are perfectly clear in their repudiation of aggressive violence of any appearance whatever, however sacred, whether used by nations or by social groups.

Of course, his distinction is untenable. No war for justice will be admitted by its adherents to be aggressive. We ourselves are fighting now for democracy rather than simply to repel invasion. With equal idealism your labor leader may be sacrificing his personal interest for industrial democracy, and the church which has applauded political revolution cannot turn Tolstoian when it is a question of social revolution or the betterment of labor conditions which is sought by violence. It is therefore peculiarly necessary that while there is yet time she set her face in the direction of social justice, so that she can say to the laborer that there is in deed and in truth a better way than the way of violence to win that social and economic democracy which he seeks for himself and his friends. Since we may no longer fall back on absolute statements as to the wrongfulness of the methods involved in certain violent strikes, we must give peculiar attention to the ends sought. Thoughtful churchmen can in this connection render valuable service. And surely the church cannot be of the number of those who "fear thought more than anything else in the world."

Norman M. Thomas

New York

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Correspondence

THE MORAL STANDING OF THE RAPE OF BELGIUM

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As the time for the final settlement of war issues draws nearer, it is to be hoped that the real nature of Germany's course in Belgium will not be forgotten or ignored. The basic fact must not be lost sight of that never for a moment has Germany had any belligerent rights in Belgium whatever, under recognized rules of war. By her own explicit admission she had no cause of war against Belgium, and her entrance upon Belgian soil against Belgian protest was precisely that of the automobilist who would run down a family on its own lawn merely to shorten his route to some other point. If not one of the dastardly outrages upon Belgian civilians had been committed, it would still be true that every Belgian soldier slain in trying to protect his country was a case of mere murder and not legitimate warfare at all. And the hundreds of millions worth of property taken by the Germans from Belgians has been in morals nothing but sheer robbery from beginning to end.

If the finally victorious Allies agree to any glossing over of these crimes, any designation of the essentially foul by fair names, as a mere concession to courtesy, they will make a sad mistake. If the world is to get any valid security against a repetition of these outrages, they must be held up to view in all their naked brutality and called what they are. It is only on the merest technicality that Germany can be said to be engaged in legitimate warfare anywhere, excluding the question of brutal methods altogether. In Belgium her case has not even a technicality to rest on, and is not war at all, but mere murder and rapine. No Belgian civilian who fired at a German soldier was even technically guilty of the offence of "sniping," because that offence implies attack upon soldiers legitimately at war, and there were none such among the Germans who invaded Belgium. The future German historian of Germany's downfall will not fail to recognize this, and to give the scathing denunciation which it deserves to the reckless leaders who invited downfall by ordering its perpetration. In the interest of peace and civilization for the future, now, if ever, men of moral insight should not hesitate to call murder and pillage by their own names. W. H. JOHNSON

Granville, O., August 15

AGES OF UNION SOLDIERS IN THE CIVIL WAR

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The letter of Dr. Meriwether in your issue of June 21 about the ages of Union soldiers in the Civil War reaches the erroneous conclusion that no trustworthy information on the subject exists. The question is of so much interest at this time that I ask for a little of your space in order to correct the error. Dr. Meriwether was not at fault in the matter, for he did what all scholars constantly do, appealed to the highest available authority and relied on the results. In his letter he quotes the following sentence of the Adjutant-General of the War Department at that time, Gen. F. A. Ainsworth, written in reply to his inquiry:

> The fact that no compilation of the ages at which men serving in the Civil War entered the service has ever been made by the War Department, which is the only department that has the records from which a reliable compilation of such statistics can be made, should be sufficient to show that figures such as those given in the accompanying table have no official basis and are entitled to no credit whatever.

Now, it is true that the War Department is "the only department that has the records," and that it has made "no compilation showing the ages at which men serving in the Civil War entered the service." But the inference from these statements drawn by Gen. Ainsworth and naturally accepted by Dr. Meriwether, that no official figures on the subject exist, is false and misleading. Gen. Ainsworth's predecessor in the office of adjutant-general placed the muster rolls on file at the War Department at the disposal of the United States Sanitary Commission. All the information they contained regarding the ages of volunteers at the time of their muster into the service of the United States was drawn off, tabulated, and interpreted by E. B. Elliott and B. A. Gould, the accomplished actuaries of the Sanitary Commission, and the results are set forth in detail in the latter's "Military and Anthropological Statistics of American Soldiers," Chapter III.

The best group with which to compare the age distribution of the army now being raised by selective draft is probably that of the privates among the volunteers, excluding all officers and the privates who joined the colors later or were drafted. Of these there were more than one million. Three-tenths of them were less than 21 years of age, the lower limit fixed by the present law. Half of them were less than 22.9 years of age, and accordingly the typical or median age of the private volunteers on the Northern side in the Civil War was about twenty-three years. The average age of the same group, 25.8 years, was notably higher, mainly because the thousands of privates far above the average age were not balanced by any privates equally far below it. Of course, the ages of the officers and of the drafted men were distributed differently from those of the volunteers.

General Ainsworth's statement obliges us to infer that he was not acquainted with Gould's book, yet I find it hard to believe that he was ignorant of this statistical classic, probably the most important scientific work which has ever grown out of the statistical records of the American War Department, a book often quoted as authoritative by Darwin in the "Descent of Man," and one of the few statistical books in which American scholars take a legitimate pride.

WALTER F. WILLCOX

Ithaca, N. Y., August 5

TENNYSON'S "ULYSSES"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your readers are greatly indebted to Miss Agnes Repplier for her article entitled "The Virtuous Victorian" in your issue of February 15. Its fine and discriminating criticism is worthy of its author, and it properly rebukes the numerous semi-literate of our own day who seek a reputation for taste and sensibility by running down the "mid-Victorians," while praising such charlatans as Shaw and Wells.

Miss Repplier, however, falls into an error of fact which it is worth while to correct, though it does not affect her argument. "It is," she says, "to Tennyson we owe the most splendid denial of domesticity—and duty—that was ever made deathless by verse. With what unequalled ardor his

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Ulysses abandons home and country, the faithful but aging Penelope, the devoted but dull Telemachus, and the troublesome business of law-making!" But Tennyson's poem of Ulysses is in its central idea and in a number of details an unmistakable and indeed confessed borrowing of the Ulysses episode in the twenty-sixth book of Dante's Inferno. And Dante's Ulysses, in even plainer terms than Tennyson's, renounces the ties of kindred and duty:

> Nè dolcezza di figlio, nè la pièta
> Del vecchio padre, nè il debito amore
> Lo qual dovea Penelope far lieta,
> Vincer potêr dentro da me l'ardore
> Ch'i' ebbi a divenir del mondo esperto,
> E degli vizi umani e del valore.

And this is said with no intention of disparaging Tennyson's great poem. On the contrary, one of the best proofs of its greatness is that it boldly challenges comparison with one of the sublimest passages in the Divine Comedy, and does not suffer thereby. HOMER EDMISTON

Genoa, July 26

BOOKS

A Biography of Swinburne

The Life of Algernon Charles Swinburne. By Edmund Gosse, C.B. New York: The Macmillan Co. $3.50.

ANY biographer less skilled and less practiced than Mr. Gosse might have found it difficult to make an interesting book out of a career so wanting in incident as that of Swinburne. Men of letters, it is true, have usually fewer actions to record, fewer points of contact with the events of their time, than statesmen, warriors, or travellers. But they have mostly had domestic lives which have influenced their literary course, and not a few have borne a part, even if indirectly, in moulding public opinion. Swinburne was never married. He was never, it would seem, even in love, except once at the age of twenty-five. He was only once brought near to politics, when in 1867 a body (long since vanished) called the Reform League invited him to become a candidate for Parliament, offering what they described as a safe seat, and undertaking to pay his election expenses. By the advice of Mazzini, he wisely declined. The theoretic republicanism of his verses, which had attracted these English Radicals, would have rendered little service to their cause in the House of Commons. Swinburne's life is made up of his writings and of the controversies in which these involved him. Its interest lies in the development of his genius and in the influences which moulded it; for though he had a strong intellectual individuality, he was much affected by some of the greater writers of his time.

He was born on April 5, 1837, the son of an Admiral Swinburne, descended from an old Northumbrian family, and of Lady Jane, daughter of the third Earl of Ashburnham, a woman of amiable character and cultivated mind, whom he resembled in face more than he did his father. His youth was spent partly on the small family estate at Capheaton in Northumberland, partly in the Isle of Wight. He went to Eton at the age of twelve and to Oxford (Balliol College) at nineteen. Both at school and at college he was a notable figure. Physically he was very small and of a delicate aspect, with a singularly clear white skin, large gray eyes, and an immense shock of silky fine hair, whose color is variously described as golden or red verging on crimson. He was most excitable, apt to gesticulate and go dancing about the room, seeming to walk, or rather to prance along, upon the tips of his toes, accustomed to recite aloud to himself in a way which astonished boys and servants. With little physical strength, and not the slightest taste for games, he loved bathing, swimming, and riding, and showed in these delights an unfailing courage.

His Oxford career was not a success, for he refused to follow the usual course of reading for honors, and never competed for any distinctions, except a university scholarship in modern languages, which he obtained, and the annual prize for an English poem. For this he wrote twice, on both occasions unsuccessfully. No delinquencies were chargeable against him in his earlier college days, except that he could not be induced to get out of bed to attend morning chapel, which was in those days compulsory at Oxford. But he was altogether unamenable to discipline, even the mild discipline of his college, and he became more and more erratic in his ways, so as sometimes to cause scandals. He ultimately left without taking his degree, and never seems to have looked back on Oxford with pleasure. But he was the bright particular star of a small group of eager-minded undergraduate friends, and he was fortunate in attracting the notice of one of the most famous of the teachers of that time, Benjamin Jowett, professor of Greek and afterwards Master of Balliol College. Jowett, attracted by his gift, overlooked his irregularities and exercised a sort of fatherly oversight towards him for many years. He had been writing poetry from childhood, but the first time he published was in 1865, when the classical drama of "Atalanta in Calydon" appeared. By it he sprang into fame at a bound, winning the admiration of scholars by the wonderful reproduction of many features of the Greek tragedians, while the exquisitely musical rhythms and fineness of diction captivated all people of literary taste. After this came in succession dramas, powerful in their way, but apt to be diffuse, and volumes of lyrics, the best of which were "Poems and Ballads," published in 1866, and "Songs before Sunrise" (1871). The former brought upon him violent attacks from reviewers of a conservative temperament in literary matters, and shocked the general public so far as it was a poetry-reading public at all. No one would be much shocked now, but the book-reading England of 1866 respected all the proprieties in a way which the present generation can hardly realize. Much else he wrote, both in verse and in prose, but his best productive period was past, though some striking bits are to be found in the later works. Never having chosen a profession, he had no ties to any place, but lived mostly in London and mostly alone, his health suffering from his extremely irregular ways of life. He was not given to intemperance, but likely to be intoxicated by a quantity of wine too small to have had the slightest effect on ordinary men. At last in 1879 his health was completely breaking down, when a friend, Mr. Theodore Watts (since deceased), persuaded Swinburne to come and live along with him at Putney, in the outskirts of London. Here he dwelt in quiet, well cared for, till he passed away, after a short illness, in 1909.

Mr. Gosse had no easy task in trying to make so extraordinary a creature as Swinburne was intelligible to those who never saw him in the flesh. But by putting together the recollections of those who knew the poet, comparing and

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reconciling these, and adding to them his own personal reminiscences, together with a judicious use of letters and comments on the poems, the biographer has succeeded in presenting a substantially truthful as well as a vivid picture. He succeeds in conveying the right impression, that is to say, the impression which seems to have been formed by nearly every one who knew Swinburne intimately, that he was a sort of *lusus naturæ*. Not a few poets have been marked by an oddity which bordered on mental derangement. There was nothing of this in Swinburne. He had a perfectly rational mind, whose only unwholesome peculiarity was a taste for the horrible. He had charming manners, complete self-possession (save when excited), a sound literary judgment, except when he indulged his passion for setting up some political idol, like Mazzini, or, more frequently, some literary idol, like Walter Savage Landor or Victor Hugo. His nervous organization was extremely sensitive and susceptible of excitement, and he seldom tried to restrain his impulses. But he was no stranger, no more unbalanced, at the end of his life than at the beginning, and though the stream of intellectual production ran feebler, there were no signs of intellectual degeneration. His apprehension was remarkably quick, his memory tenacious, his power of imitation wonderful. To most of his contemporaries at Eton and Oxford he seemed to be neglecting his studies, yet he made himself an excellent Greek and Latin scholar, of course of the literary rather than the technical type of scholarship, and did this while he was devouring French and Italian poems and novels.

One of the questions which suggest themselves to the reader of this biography, interesting not only for what it tells us of its hero, but also for the glimpses it affords of other eminent Englishmen of the generation that is passing away, is this: Did Swinburne, who dedicated so much of his most brilliant verse to Liberty and to Italy, really care about either? Or were they to him mere abstractions which stimulated his imagination and to which he constantly recurred because they furnished themes on which his imagination could be employed? Mr. Gosse justly remarks that Liberty is never really worshipped by Swinburne except in connection with Italy, and it may be doubted whether Italy was ever anything more to him than a conception fitted to evoke the splendid profusion of his verse. He seldom went there, he took no interest in all that happened there, or indeed anywhere else in Europe, after 1871.

The fashions change so fast in poetry that Swinburne is already half-forgotten both in England and in America. For one or two decades he received from very young poets the tribute of imitation; but that has died away. The society of painters and poets in which he moved at the most impressionable period of his life, and of which William Morris and Dante Gabriel Rossetti were the most famous members, has vanished. Even the themes which occupy young poets seem different from those of last century, as the treatment certainly is. It is still too soon to determine how much of Swinburne will survive to be read, except by the professional student of literature, a century hence. Probably not very much, yet enough to obtain for him a unique position in the annals of English poetry, enough, therefore, to make it worth while to have the record of his life which has now been given to us, and which does not seem likely to be superseded. Though it may not tell quite everything, it tells all that it is necessary to know in order to obtain a notion of what manner of man Swinburne was, and of the environment of friends and masters of verse that told upon his nature. Independent and self-confident as that nature was, it had yet a great susceptibility to such influences as were in general harmony with its own ideals. Swinburne had a longer life than most of our poets, many of whom had that delicacy of constitution which often goes with high and fine intellectual quality, and some of whom seemed to burn themselves out in the intensity of their productive quality. That nearly all of his best work was done before he reached middle age need excite no surprise. That is often, indeed usually, the case with poets. They generally reach a high level very early, and though they retain the quality of skill and finish, their imaginative invention seems generally to flag soon after forty. In his case, therefore, there is little ground for complaining, as some have complained, that under the sedulous care of his friend Dunton and the monotonous regularity of life which that care imposed, the wings of his creative power were clipped. More probably his career would have ended altogether from a total breakdown of health had not that care been given to him. Whatever judgment posterity may pass on his poetry, it has more than enough of a peculiar and distinctive quality to make him an interesting figure in literary history, so interesting that students of the poetry will always wish to know something of his personality. They will err if they take him to be representative of more than one of the many streams of tendency that were flowing in the intellectual England of his time. He is no more representative than his friend Rossetti, less representative than the other chief luminary of the pre-Raphaelite school, William Morris; and his influence did not reach so far as did that either of Morris or of Ruskin. But between 1865 and 1871 he was a more striking and startling figure than either of those twain, rising like a meteor, and disappearing almost as quickly after some ten years of brilliance.

Did the German People Desire War?

Christine. By Alice Cholmondeley. New York: The Macmillan Co.

PROPER appreciation of this book will naturally wait upon a more definite knowledge of its authorship than that which the publishers are as yet able to furnish. If the volume is indeed what it purports to be—a series of letters written to her mother by a young English girl resident in Germany from late May to early August, 1914—it is a document as significant as any which the war has yet furnished. For, on this assumption, it goes far to wipe out the distinction gladly made by many between the attitude of the German people and that of the German Government towards the possibility of a world war. Provided the letters are genuine, they leave little doubt that the great middle class in Germany ardently desired, even before the Sarajevo tragedy, a testing of German arms, and especially with England. If this is not a true history (and we prefer to believe that it is), then we can only deplore the wretched taste of an author who just at this time would dare to confirm our worst suspicions of Germany by an elaborate fiction parading as a document before the fact.

Christine Cholmondeley, we learn from the letters supplemented by a preface furnished by her mother, went to Germany to study the violin under a master disguised in this narrative (the publishers in a note explain that they

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have thought fit to change certain names) as Klooster. She at once showed talent, and through her teacher's enthusiastic guidance she was brought to the attention of persons in high social position. Among these was a Junker with a leaning to music who, though an officer in the army, was frank in expressing contempt for the Prussian military system. To him she became engaged and until the outbreak of the war the letters promise an idyllic conclusion. But on the way to Switzerland, to which she was advised to flee, she was obliged by an officious lieutenant to stand for two hours in the blazing sun, and as a result of a subsequent chill she contracted pneumonia and died in a hospital at Stuttgart.

The Berlin pension in which Christine lived is a crucial point in the impression left upon the reader. It housed but one other foreigner, being made up, for the most part, of clerks and other solid bourgeois people. Yet even here Christine encountered a consuming restlessness unmistakably produced by an eagerness for international conflict; and hatred of England was rife. A week before the murder at Sarajevo we read:

> It's queer, the atmosphere here—in this house, in the streets, wherever one goes. They all seem in a condition of tension—of intense, tightly-strung waiting, very like that breathless expectancy in the last act of "Tristan" when Isolde's ship is sighted and all the violins hang high up on to the shrill, intolerably eager note. There's a sort of fever.

Realpolitik, even at this date, was the central topic of conversation at the table, and poor Christine, who was prepared to find Germany most congenial, had to stand the brunt of hostile tongues. Day in and day out the impression was given that England had gone too far in her greed and that a day of reckoning would soon be at hand. Here is an amazing display of desires about to be realized. The letter of June 14—two weeks prior to the murder—mentions the fact that Herr Klooster had intended to play in London that summer, but that he suddenly changed his mind, and when pressed for a reason explained that he always did what his agent told him to do. One of the most significant passages—unfortunately too long to quote in full—is found in the letter of June 28. It reports the tremendous diatribe which the landlady delivered against the nations of the earth upon learning of the assassination: "Blood will, blood must flow in streams before such a crime can be regarded as washed out. Such evil-doers must be emptied of all their blood." The cynicism of Klooster will be received as cynicism usually is, yet some of his words, in the light of subsequent events, will bear pondering, as when he says:

> We Germans fear not God, but everything else in the world. It is only fear that makes us polite, fear of the duel; for, like the child and the savage, we have not had time to acquire the habit of good manners, the habit which makes manners inevitable and invariable, and it is not natural to us to be polite. We are polite only by force of fear. Consequently—for all men must have their relaxations—whenever we meet the weak, the beneath us, the momentarily helpless, we are brutal. It is an immense relief to be for a moment natural. Every German welcomes even the smallest opportunity.

Only to those who suspect a trick will this book prove to be disappointing. To our thinking, the publishers should ferret out its authorship and ascertain the exact conditions in which it was written. If it is a genuine record, it is too important to pass, as it may in many minds, as fiction.

Bowman's Andes of Southern Peru

The Andes of Southern Peru. Geographical Reconnaissance along the Seventy-third Meridian. With seven topographic maps, many plates and figures. By Isaiah Bowman, Director of the American Geographical Society. New York: Henry Holt & Co. $3 net.

SOME scientific organizations, like the Geological Society of America, spring at once into vigorous life. Others have a more demure beginning and outlive their founders before developing an aggressive activity. Of such is the American Geographical Society of New York, which is only now entering upon a period of vigorous growth after threescore years of cautious and dignified, not to say solemn, existence. The reason for this awakening recalls a passage in the biography of Oliver Wendell Holmes, which tells that he was present at a meeting of the Harvard Medical Faculty in 1869 when the Dean expressed a dissenting surprise at the number of recent changes from the satisfied conservatism that had previously prevailed; whereupon a comparatively young member of the Faculty quietly offered an explanation of the new order of things, which is pertinent to the case here in hand, and which any one may look up who cares to pursue the subject. "Dissenting surprise," is, however, an irrelevant item, for it is evidently with much satisfaction that the directorate of the American Geographical Society looks upon the revolution that has been initiated by their young director, Dr. Isaiah Bowman. It is only two years since he was called from a professorship at Yale, but he has already fully established himself as meriting his new title. The monthly publication of the Society has been invigorated by scholarly contributions and reviews. Membership has been more than doubled in the past year by the simple expedient of announcing its advantages to an intelligent public. Prominent among these advantages is the receipt, in addition to the monthly Review, of an annual geographical volume which may be well characterized by the Spanish-American term *ñapa*, inasmuch as the first one of the promised series treats the "Andes of Southern Peru," the subject of this notice.

Mr. Bowman has made repeated journeys in South America, of which, unfortunately, no sufficient account is given in the volume before us, though they have deservedly brought him a gold medal from the Geographical Society of Paris. Those who know his record recognize that he is not one who is called a geographer simply because he has travelled, but that instead he is now known as a traveller because he was previously a trained geographer. As a result of this sequence in his career, his explorations have thrown much new light on the Andes, long known but never so well described as in his book. He here selects for detailed treatment a north-south section which he followed across the mountains in 1911, where their trend is obliquely from northwest to southeast. The plan of treatment is ingeniously adapted to the need of setting forth sound geographical information to geographically untrained readers.

The book opens with an elementary but graphic account of the four chief Peruvian regions as if told by four Peruvians, an interior forest-dweller, an eastern valley planter, a highland shepherd, and a coastal planter. Then comes a chapter of personal narrative—the most generally acceptable form of geographical presentation—telling of a venturesome boat trip down the canyon of the Urubamba.

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Thus the rubber forests of the rainy eastern slopes are reached, and the forest Indians are thereupon described in fuller detail than was allowed them by the introductory Peruvian. The highland of the shepherds and the eastern valleys are similarly treated. A philosophical chapter is then interpolated on The Geographic Basis of Human Character, set forth in a more attractive and specific style than its title might suggest. An account of the coastal desert and its irrigated valleys follows, and two long chapters of climatology and meteorology, containing a large body of information, though not so readable as the other pages, close the first half of the book, which has for its general title "Human Geography." The second half, "Physiography of the Peruvian Andes," is of more scientific intention and execution. The new member of the Society who is lured into the later chapters by the entertainment that he finds in the earlier ones may be somewhat dismayed upon coming upon such a statement as: "Outlying batholiths occur whose common petrographic character and similar manner of occurrence leave little doubt that they are related abyssally to a common plutonic mass"; but if he goes on to the point of comprehending the statement: "As a whole, the Central Andes passed through a cycle of erosion in late Tertiary time which was interrupted by uplift after the general surface had been reduced to a condition of topographic maturity," he will have learned the most significant and novel of Bowman's results. If he later perseveres through the account of the coastal terraces and gains an understanding of that difficult chapter—in which "terrace" and "terraces" are used in a rather confusing manner—he may regard himself as something of a physiographic proficient. It is of course scientifically and systematically a cart-before-the-horse arrangement to treat the land forms in Part II and their inhabitants in Part I, with climate in between, for the normal sequence is land forms first and inhabitants last; but the inversion here is warranted by the occasion. The account of glacial erosion in the Cordillera Villacampa before the description of its geological structure in a chapter of Part II seems less appropriate.

The plates and figures merit high praise. The half-tones from original photographs are excellent; many of them are beautiful pictures; they truly illustrate as well as ornament the text. The outline figures are all pertinent and helpful; those which generalize the relation of land forms and population are ingeniously devised on a plan original with the author. A series of contoured maps by K. Hendricksen, topographer of the expedition, are cartographic oases in an uncharted desert.

As to the later numbers of the series here so well introduced, a baffling announcement is lately made by the publisher. It states on one page that the American Geographical Society has begun to issue "a special series of books that should command wide attention," and then instances on other pages not only Bowman's "Andes of Southern Peru" and Dominian's "Frontiers of Language," which are truly products of the American Geographical Society, but announces also, without dates of publication, two other geographical and one geological work, which, if we mistake not, are no novelties in the book market and which have no relation whatever to the Geographical Society. The uninformed reader would inevitably be misled by this form of advertisement.

Notes

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, unique in her day, opened up a new field of activity for her sex in the matter of relieving the suffering of the sick and wounded in war. One of the most remarkable features of the present world struggle has been the extraordinary way not only in which women have again offered themselves for their own more natural work of hospital nursing, but in which they have come forward to do the work of men as well. Who can imagine in any previous wars such wholesale activities as have been displayed by the women of England and France of all social grades, or such a phenomenon, for instance, as the Smith College Relief Unit, a corps of eighteen women, with three auto trucks equipped and "manned" exclusively by women, going across the seas to aid in the rehabilitation of the devastated regions of France reconquered from the Huns? It is to be hoped that some day some one will write a book which will be worthy of the subject—but which will be different from Mr. Francis Gribble's "Women in War" (Dutton; $2.75). This book, with the exception of the Epilogue, was put together, according to the author, before the outbreak of the present war. It sketches in a light, superficial manner the heroic or eccentric doings of a motley group of thirty or forty women, ranging in point of time from Countess Matilda of Tuscany to Miss Edith Cavell. The only nexus among them all is that each was in some way connected with war, either in leading it like Jeanne D'Arc, or in supposedly causing it like the Empress Eugénie, or in suffering from it like Lady Sale, or in some other more or less remote fashion. In this gallery of martial portraits there is no *Frau* or *Fräulein;* this is due, the author assures us, not to any insular prejudice of his own, but to the fact that the Germans "have always been heavy-footed in their endeavors to confine even exceptional women to the domestic sphere of usefulness."

SO many descriptions of Germany in war time are so carefully debarred or decolorized by the censor, or are written by correspondents who have been so personally conducted by Government officials that they have been allowed to see only the more roseate aspect of things, that it is refreshing to come across so frank, well-informed, and brightly written, though egotistical, a book as "The Land of Deepening Shadow" (Doran; $1.50). During the year 1916 D. Thomas Curtin, a Germanophobe Irish newspaper reporter for the Northcliffe press, made a point of tramping on foot through the highways and byways of Germany to pick up a first-hand knowledge of conditions, particularly among the poorer classes. His picture is indeed a gloomy and unfavorable one. He exposes from personal observation the regrettable and ultimately unwise methods by which the German Government, through its well-disciplined teachers, pastors, film-operators, and editorial writers, has been systematically deceiving the people about the causes and the progress of the war. The misrepresentation of fact has been particularly noticeable during the second and third years of the war, when the military and diplomatic situation has no longer been so favorable to the Central Powers. He scores the rich agrarians and industrial capitalists for the selfish and unfair practices by which they have been enriching themselves, while the suffering poor are paying the exorbitant prices and loyally sacrificing their

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all for the Fatherland. It is this profiteering class of newly rich which explains the paradox, commented upon by many observers, that, though the masses are hungry, never before have the jewelry shops in Berlin and Vienna done such a roaring trade as in these war times. While most people think of the submarine as the trump card by which the Pan-Germanists hope to bring England to her knees, Mr. Curtin insists that one of the chief purposes of the submarine was to win "the war after the war." He was amazed at the number of new merchant vessels under construction. Many Germans, especially of the great National Liberal party, frankly told him that by building ships themselves and by their submarine policy of destroying enemy and even neutral shipping, they would be the world's shipping masters at the termination of the war. What a bitter pill to them it must be to think of the Vaterland under the Stars and Stripes, to see Japan's shipbuilding strides in the mastery of the Pacific, or to contemplate the proposed American programmes of ship construction! Writing in January, 1917, the author did not see any immediate hope either that the people of Germany would soon learn the truth and shake themselves free from the grip of militarism, or that the Junker Government would voluntarily make any considerable concession to liberalism. The shift from Bethmann-Hollweg to Michaelis seems to show that he was correct. "The amount of freedom which the German people attain in the next few years will be in direct proportion to the amount of thrashing administered to their country by the Allies" (p. 306).

THERE is unusual interest in the very comprehensive and clear account of the physical and sanitary conditions of Palestine given in the *Geographical Journal* for July by Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, for twenty years a resident in the country. What is needed before settlers can come is afforestation, irrigation, and restoration of terraces in the mountains. A very serious problem of the future is the position there of the Moslem. The Haram in Jerusalem, the scene of some of Mohammed's visions, is only second in sanctity, in the minds of Moslems, to Mecca and Medina; access to it should be left unimpaired. The concern of England here is in its intimate relations to Egypt. "The war has made evident to us how imperative it is that Palestine should be in friendly and peaceful hands if the quietness and security of Egypt is to be assured." Just before the war it took five or six days to go from Beersheba to Cairo. Now it can be done in eight hours. There is also in this number a clear exposition of the origin, design, and present condition of the Bagdad Railway and its tributaries, with maps and illustrations by Mr. H. Charles Woods. A very interesting account of Yunnan, the southwestern province of China, is given in the June number by Mr. Ernest Wilton. It has great mineral wealth, especially in tin, and has the richest flora and fauna in the empire, and yet in some respects it is the least developed of the provinces.

IT is a long way from the stoical Thoreau of Emerson's "Memoir" to the "simple, gentle, friendly, and amusing" Thoreau of his son's, Dr. Edward Emerson's, "Henry Thoreau as Remembered by a Young Friend" (Houghton Mifflin; $1.25 net). Here we see the "hermit" walking home with the children, after school-teaching, hand in hand; romping with the young Emersons, and initiating them into the mysteries of nature; singing his favorite "Tom Bowling," and dancing with something like abandon; doing his part towards the family support so faithfully that he was rendered more susceptible to the consumption that eventually brought death. If the point of view is slightly distorted, at least there is compensation in the really winning personality that rises into life as we read these pages. No one has made Thoreau so nearly lovable as Dr. Emerson in this charming passage: "This youthful, cheery figure was a familiar one in our house, and when he, like the Pied Piper of Hamelin, sounded his note in the hall, the children must needs come and hug his knees, and he struggled with them, nothing loath, to the fireplace, sat down and told stories, sometimes of the strange adventures of his childhood, or more often of squirrels, muskrats, hawks, he had seen that day, the Monitor-and-Merrimac duel of mud-turtles in the river, or the great Homeric battle of the red and black ants. Then he would make our pencils and knives disappear, and redeem them presently from our ears and noses; and last, would bring down the heavy copper warming-pan from the oblivion of the garret and unweariedly shake it over the blaze till reverberations arose within, and then, opening it, let a white-blossoming explosion of popcorn fall over the little people on the rug."

THE dulness of Thoreau's "Journal," taken as a whole, is sufficient reason for publication of selections from it. In "Through the Year with Thoreau" (Houghton Mifflin; $3 net) Herbert W. Gleason restricts himself to de-

THE NATION

A WEEKLY JOURNAL

Published and owned by the
NEW YORK EVENING POST COMPANY

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, President — ALEXANDER DANA NOYES, Vice-President
JOHN PALMER GAVIT, Sec. — WILLIAM HAZEN, Treas.
EMIL M. SCHOLZ, Publisher.

Entered at the New York City Post Office as second class mail matter

SUBSCRIPTION RATES.—Four dollars per annum, postpaid, in United States and Mexico; to Canada, $4.50, and to foreign countries comprised in the Postal Union, $5.00.

Address, THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, Box 794, New York, Publication Office.

LONDON OFFICE: 16 Regent St., S. W.
WASHINGTON OFFICE: Home Life Building
CHICAGO OFFICE: 332 South Michigan Avenue
BUENOS AIRES OFFICE: Lavalle 341

HAROLD DE WOLF FULLER, Editor
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scriptions of nature drawn from the "Journal" (a few also from "Walden" and the "Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers"), omitting altogether the moral and social passages. Scores of excellent full-page photographic illustrations accompany Thoreau's verbal description of landscapes, birds, flowers, etc. Without illustration, Thoreau's description of Early Morning Fog from Nawshawtuct Hill (p. 42) is appreciably less clear and interesting. Again, Thoreau's description of the flower-buds of mountain laurel—"curiously folded in a ten-angled pyramidal form"—gains vastly through the picture. Mr. Gleason's book has been carefully composed after fifteen years of rambling among the haunts of his beloved master. Its only serious defect is its brevity; in 135 pages it is scarcely possible to do more than make a humble beginning in the task of illustrating Thoreau's descriptions of natural scenes and phenomena. Yet a much larger book would have been forbiddingly expensive.

IN April of 1910 Mrs. Disney Leith published in the *Contemporary Review* some personal recollections of her cousin, the poet Swinburne, which gave a pleasant, chatty account of his childhood. This has now been somewhat expanded and printed as a kind of introduction to a selection of his home letters, under the title of "Algernon Charles Swinburne" (Putnam; $2 net). These letters, to his mother and sisters, are in part highly characteristic of his genius, being filled with enthusiastic and rather breathless descriptions of sea and sky, with anecdotes of his reckless habits of swimming. So, too, human exaltations are revealed as well as his nature-worship; his devotion to Mazzini, for instance, and his admiration of Victor Hugo break out into language as extravagant as might be expected. But besides these outpourings of enthusiasm, which read at times almost like notes for poems, there is another, and less familiar, aspect of his character which will give pleasure to his admirers. The simple family relations give the dominant color to the correspondence, and are fine and unaffected. Certainly he shows himself a devoted son and brother and a generous friend. The letters are an interesting and valuable record.

THERE are few libraries to-day that can boast a copy of Tod's "Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han," published between 1829 and 1832, the first monumental study of any historic, Oriental race at present included in the British empire. Rājast'hān, or the country of the *rājās* or chiefs, is the important state of Rajputana, whence India recruits some of her finest soldiers. As a political agent of the British Government, Colonel Tod had unusual opportunities for observation among the feudal clans of Rajputana in the early days, and his great work was a model for similar studies on the various races of the new empire. To appreciate the importance of his intensive study, one must recall the immense service it rendered the early British administrators in India, when they inherited the anarchy and racial unrest consequent on the dissolution of the great Mughal empire. For Rajputana, Tod's work has continued to be a mine of information on its history and customs, since history is one of the arts that has most suffered in India. It was said by Colonel Malleson that the Mohammedan rule in India, from 1206 to 1707, was the longest period of foreign domination that the country had known, and it was during this despotism that the Rajputs, from their deserts and rocky eeries, as became a proud, fighting race of ancient lineage, took up a good deal of the invader's attention. The defence of Chitore, and many of the other Rajput mountain forts, has passed into Indian legend and miniature painting as instances of their desperate valor. Sheer exhaustion and inter-tribal feuds gave the final control to the Mughal. It was from the Rajput families, certainly the most ancient surviving in modern Asia, that the Mughal Emperors took their Hindu wives, and the taint of this social degradation is still remembered in Rajputana. The great tribute to this chivalric race is the indigenous character of its customs and institutions, which have survived so long a period of stress; a corresponding tribute is due the British in that Rajputana, once on the verge of extinction, has continued under their tutelage to express its native integrity to a greater extent than is evident among the other races of heterogeneous India.

THROUGH the generosity of the Mahārājā of Jhalawar, descendant of the famous Rajput hero Zalim Singh, the present reprint of Colonel Tod's *chef-d'œuvre* is made possible in a popular edition (Dutton; 2 vols.; $4 net). For students of early societies there is a mass of fascinating historical material contained in Tod's exhaustive study. "There are probably few or no political fabrics having any pretence to be called States, in any part of historic Asia, which have suffered so little essential change between the eleventh and nineteenth centuries, a period which for Rajputana was one long war time." Such was the opinion of the late Sir Alfred Lyall, whose chapter on the Rajput States, in his "Asiatic Studies," has an illuminating discussion of Tod's failure to distinguish between the two forms of society, tribal and feudal. The enthusiastic annalist was at pains to identify a feudal caste in the organization of Rajput society, even adopting the mediæval nomenclature that has led to so much confusion among subsequent writers. Gathering his data at first hand, Tod, says Lyall, must not be blamed "for failing to see that his Rajput feudalism was not the basis of the society, but an incomplete superstructure, and that Rajputana, as he surveyed it, was a group of tribal suzerainties rapidly passing into the feudal stage which we now know to have been largely built up in Europe over the tribal foundations."

Notes from the Capital

Thomas F. Ryan

THE new methods which have come into vogue with the present world war have practically eliminated horseflesh from the battlefield except for light artillery purposes; but lack of need should not detract at all from the public appreciation of the offer made several months ago by Thomas Fortune Ryan of two thousand acres of his Virginia farm to the Government for a cavalry remount and training station. It was not only a patriotic act, but magnanimous; for those of us who witnessed the struggle in the Baltimore Convention of 1912, when the Bryanites hurled themselves upon the Tammany host and drove it from its intrenchments, making Mr. Ryan a special object of attack, ventured to doubt whether the victim would ever feel overkindly towards the beneficiary of the victory; and when the new President invited Bryan to the most exalted seat at his council table and sought opportunity after opportunity to

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confer dignities upon Ryan's arch-enemy in Virginia, the prospect of a hearty fellowship appeared to grow steadily more remote.

However, we must bear in mind that Ryan has won most of his wealth and much of his reputation as a reorganizer of large financial enterprises, and for all we know he may have in view some such experiment in politics. It will be recalled that, in anticipation of the Presidential campaign of 1904, he published a strong admonition to the Democratic party to do its own housecleaning instead of leaving the job to a triumphant enemy. It was addressed particularly to the branch which had been most prone to follow bad counsels and lend itself to the encouragement of unorthodox schemes, and pointed out that the political opportunity of the South lay in taking its place at the forefront in support of conservative policies and candidates. A sound currency, a moderate tariff for revenue without prejudice to domestic industries, and the defence of State rights against the aggressions of centralization were the chief features of the programme he wished his party to adopt. "It will be a day of dark portent," said he, "when the Federal Government lays its heavy hand on every man's shoulder and reaches down into his private business and his household life." And his reflection on President Roosevelt's handling of the coal strike was that, "if the President can lawfully interfere between one class of employers and their employees, he can interfere in all, and the safeguards of State law and local courts will become as impotent as the empty forms of the Roman Constitution under Augustus. . . . Against these new follies of budding State Socialism the Democratic party of the Union can afford to array itself with unflinching faith."

He cheered himself for a time with the belief that Parker's candidacy would bring his goal in sight; but when the Parker contingent in the convention yielded to the pressure of circumstances and compromised with Bryan, his disappointment was bitter. What he thinks of the developments of the last few years, like marine war insurance, child-labor restrictions, the nationalization of the militia, workmen's compensation legislation, the eight-hour day for railway labor, and various other measures for which his party has assumed responsibility, he has not yet told us, but we may hear later if we listen diligently. Perhaps, meanwhile, apropos of the episode of the cavalry station, we shall catch an echo of something he said a good while ago about the reasons—non-political—which impel rich men to move in unlooked-for directions. He was combating the charge that our capitalistic economic system tends only to avarice and corruption. "If the element of seeking distinction above his fellows," he argued, "were eliminated from the nature of man, most men would be deprived of their motive for doing great things. After they have acquired a competency, it is for distinction that most men strive rather than for mere money."

Mr. Ryan's personal history is more or less written in his appearance. Some observers call him handsome, others distinguished-looking; I should not apply either term to him, except in a very restricted sense. I should describe him, rather, as a noticeable man. His powerful frame and his square face, his cleft chin and the outward arch of his eyebrows, would make him that. His Irish origin is obvious to the first glance; almost or quite as certain are his country upbringing and the fact that he has had to make his own way in life and has made it as he set out to do. Not all the conventional perfection of his attire, or the environment we associate with riches, serve to obscure the signs with which nature has stamped him. His personality is forceful rather than attractive, like the steel bar which is hard to the touch and resonant in response to a blow, but bends without cracking under the influence of heat. You can see at once that he is naturally a silent man as to anything which concerns himself, and even when, in the company of old friends, he has grown genial, you never expect to see his geniality melt into confidential intimacy. So when he gets ready to tell the world the full meaning of his latest act, and not before that, we shall know—just as much as he is willing we should. TATTLER

Reviews of Plays

"MARY'S ANKLE."

AN innocently diverting two-and-a-quarter hours of foolery, Mary Tully's farce at the Bijou relies upon the fact that in August no audience wishes the slightest mental exertion. No one would think of analyzing something which has just a little more of consistency and coherence than the ordinary "book" of a musical comedy; a touch of analysis would shiver its least impossible situation, and do an injustice to the frank abandon of its lightness. The first theme of amusement is the plight of three young and penniless professional men, living—till they can use their diplomas to advantage—upon such expedients as the pawning of the landlady's parrot. The second is the immediate consequences of their most absurd expedient—the sending out of invitations to the "marriage" of one of the trio to a fictitious Mary Smith, in the hope that relatives will pour in vendible gifts; for the gifts come, but, being for Mary, are not vendible. The third is the sudden appearance of a flesh-and-blood Mary Smith and of an uncle who wishes to bring his gift in person, the two weaving hilarious entanglements about the young men. None of the speeches has wit of a memorable sort, but almost all have a slangy brightness that gives entertainment to all but the dragging final scene.

"MAYTIME"

A PRETTY, trifling play adapted from the German and showing similarities to both "Milestones" and "Peter Ibbetson"—such is "Maytime," which had its first performance last week at the Shubert Theatre. It is divided into four episodes stretching from 1840 to the twentieth century and deals entirely with New York life. A slender thread of romance serves in a fashion to bind the episodes together. Ottillie Van Zandt, one of the blue bloods of the early period, has given her heart as a young girl to Richard Wayne (well represented by Charles Purcell), the son of her father's gardener, and though she is forced to marry one of her own class her love for the handsome youth persists even unto the second and third generation. Hence the happy dénouement shows her granddaughter, still played by Peggy Wood, engaging herself to the grandson of Richard, who, in fact, had made a fortune in South Africa. Airiness is the breath of life of this play. Its lines have little sparkle, but for the most part its taste is excellent, and the few songs which are interspersed enhance its romantic glamour.

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"THE LASSOO"

IT is pleasant to forget the theatre at a play as "The Lassoo" makes one forget the Lyceum. The author, Victor Mapes, who also helped write "The Boomerang," seems to think life at least as good a show as theatrical fiction, and a company of competent players appear to agree with him. As a result, there is a naturalness about the play that woos its audience not only into belief but into illusion. It is a comedy, yet it achieves sentiment also. The characters talk well, yet without the excessive patness that one finds in brightly written plays but not in life.

The story is less a plot than a picture of a crisis in the life of a young couple. A young author, encouraged by the success of his novel, turns it into a play and finally produces it with his own money. This throws him into close friendship with the leading lady. Between the failure of the play, the unthinking extravagance of the wife and her unreasoning jealousy of the actress, trouble develops. What follows is familiar enough on the stage, but no less so in life; and although there is the usual happy ending, the play is entitled to it. Mr. Mapes has even had the courage to leave his young couple poorer at the fall of the curtain than in Act I.

A group of people from the theatrical world is pictured with refreshing fidelity, along with another from the smart set of a Long Island colony. But Mr. Mapes and his players have resisted the temptation to make the contrast theatrical. The stage folk are not too stagy nor the smart set excessively "society." The same sincerity with which the play is written was shown in the casting. The leading lady, Blanche Duval, honestly played by Beatrice Noyes, is not too fascinating; nor is the young millionaire who arouses the husband's jealousy by attentions to the wife. Shelley Hull, as the young author, and Phœbe Foster, as his wife, however, are so exceedingly pulchritudinous that it takes all their excellent playing to keep from looking "too good to be true." This, however, they accomplish. They even furnish a convincing picture of how people of breeding behave, which one sees on the stage as seldom as in life. G.

Finance

The Stock Exchange and the Vatican's Peace Proposal

EVEN with the present more or less artificial conditions in financial as well as industrial markets, the observant public still looks to the Stock Exchange for its judgment on any new event of high importance. Nobody doubted the potential importance of the peace note from the Vatican. The Pope urged agreement to end the war, and suggested terms. It was generally believed that the proposals bore the previous endorsement of Austria, if not of Germany. They might be the means of leading, directly or indirectly, to termination of the war. Therefore, a very considerable part of the community, after reading the dispatch from Rome, looked next with great interest to discover how the stock market had received it. What they found was, that the stock market had made no response at all.

The reason why this attitude caused surprise was that people remembered how the Stock Exchange had received all previous overtures of peace. During part of 1915 and the whole of 1916, every report of a projected peace offer caused rapid decline in stocks. When the German Chancellor, on Monday, December 11, made his public appeal for a peace conference, prices fell with such violence on the Stock Exchange as to bring down many industrial shares by 20 or 30 per cent. in a fortnight; even railway stocks declining 5 to 15 points. On the day when the Pope's note was published, although its proposals were known before the market opened, prices scarcely moved; the few scattered declines were attributable to other causes; most stocks on the market changed scarcely half a point; many of them closed higher than the day before. Twenty-four hours afterward, Wall Street was talking of something else.

What did this mean? There were two explanations. Financial judgment may have concluded immediately that the Pope's note could not change the situation. Or the inferences drawn as to the bearing of the actual return of peace on our financial and economic position may have changed. It is probable that both considerations were reflected in the market's attitude. Assuming that the opinion of experienced financiers had been promptly formed, to the effect that the Vatican's terms would not be accepted as they stood, then not only would the market's apathy be explained, but Wall Street correctly foreshadowed the attitude of the Allied Powers. Mere return to the *status quo*, and "reciprocal condonation" for damages and injuries, whether inflicted under the rules of war or under unlawful invasion in defiance of treaty, do not as yet appear to have impressed the statesmen any differently from the impression made on the Stock Exchange.

But even the diplomats have guardedly admitted that the Papal overtures may lead to a subsequent proffer of terms which will be considered. If so, what then of the financial attitude towards that possibility? Even Bethmann-Hollweg's request for a "conference," last December, did not insure such negotiations; much less did Prince Bülow's diplomatic manœuvres in Switzerland during the autumn of 1915. Yet on both occasions the Stock Exchange was seriously upset. The underlying facts were that, in 1915 and 1916, with the European war orders and our own neutrality, the prospect for unlimited expansion of trade in

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this country, for unlimited addition to gold imports and bank reserves, and for unlimited profits to producers because of rise in price of foodstuffs and war material, seemed to be guaranteed so long as the war lasted. But if the war were suddenly to end, the European Government orders would cease. The blockaded Russian wheat crop would pour into the market. Prices of all material would collapse disastrously. It might be that actual hard times would presently be at hand.

Such was then the financial point of view regarding peace proposals; and it was on the basis of these presumptions that Stock Exchange prices, having advanced ten, twenty, fifty, or three hundred points in the months before the peace proposal of December, fell with such violence on that news. But to-day, with our own country at war, the course of events has certainly altered these considerations. Prices, both for war material and for foodstuffs, are being regulated and kept down by Government; there can be no advance in them as the war goes on. Government orders, it is true, are even larger than before, but they are crowding out of the market the orders of private trade.

The question of the wheat market is equally one of curtailing normal home consumption, in order to leave enough of our surplus to send to Europe. Under such circumstances, a violent and prolonged decline in the prices of commodities on news of peace is being accepted nowadays as by no means a certainty. Not only would the needs of Europe for reconstruction, replenishing raw materials, and increasing food reserves cut a figure in that situation, but our own home consumption of food would expand again, and the pent-up requirements of normal trade for the materials it needs would create demands such as would largely replace even the present requisitions for war purposes. The prospect for an immediate and violent "economic readjustment" is by no means what it was even six months ago.

Not least of all, the United States in December, 1916, was at peace and under no burden of war expenditure on its own account. To-day, with its fleet and army already in the field or in training, it is about to add $2,000,000,000 to its taxes, and perhaps twice as much to its public debt, purely to pay for its own war expenditure —this irrespective of the Government's loans to the Allies, which seem to be running something like twice as large as were last year's loans of our open market for the same purpose. Progressive restraint on the normal economic activities of peace, and not less on the normal investment of capital in ordinary Stock Exchange securities, is plainly enough in sight. Such activities will be released again on return of peace, but probably not before.

But all this contrast with the circumstances and arguments which prevailed a year ago shows pretty clearly that, if a "peace rumor" were to be taken seriously to-day, the inferences governing the Stock Exchange's response to it would be very different from those which prevailed in the break of prices last December. The absolute failure of last week's stock market to move was not an unnatural reflection of this changing feeling. It is not at all inconceivable that actual news of coming peace, even if greeted at first by a fall in the investment markets and then by a period of bewildered hesitation, would be followed by a far more important and sustained recovery—the "peace market" of quite unbroken tradition.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

MISCELLANEOUS

Gove, J. A. Auction Bridge Crimes. New York: Fenno. $1 net.
Handbook of American Private Schools. Boston: Porter E. Sargent.
Hobson, J. A. The Evolution of Modern Capitalism. Scribner.
Kelly of the Foreign Legion. Mitchell Kennerley. $1 net.
Mains, G. P. James Monroe Buckley. Methodist Book Concern. $1.50 net.
Marriott, J. A. R. The Eastern Question: An Historical Study in European Diplomacy. Oxford University Press. $5.50.
Martin, S. A. The Oracles of God. Badger. $1.50 net.
Perry, M. Where It Touches the Ground. Abingdon Press. 75 cents net.

SCIENCE

Abt, I. A. The Baby's Food. Saunders. $1.25 net.
Doty, A. H. Good Health. Appleton. $1.50 net.
Hughes, C. H. Handbook of Ship Calculations, Construction, and Operation. Appleton.
Stevenson, B. L. Socio-Anthropometry. Badger. $1 net.
The Aniline Color. Dyestuff and Chemical Conditions from August 1, 1914, to April 1, 1917. Compiled by I. F. Stone. Privately printed.

"Understood Betsy"

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Summary of the News

ON August 15, or Assumption Day, the world was startled to learn that the Pope had addressed to the rulers of all the belligerents a plea for peace. The first report of the Vatican's definite proposals as to a basis for the discussion aroused hopes which the text received a day later failed to justify, for it was said that these proposals were fuller and fairer than they actually proved to be. The Pope proposed the total evacuation of Belgium and France by Germany; the submission of the questions of Alsace-Lorraine, Italia Irredenta, the Balkans, Armenia, and Poland to examination "in a conciliatory spirit, taking into account the aspirations of the population"; the establishment of the freedom of the seas; and the reduction of armaments, with the substitution of a system of arbitration of international disputes for war. It was at once seen that the Allies could consider these proposals only as an inadequate starting-point for the achievement of greater concessions. No mention was made of the rebuilding of Belgium or Northern France, of the restoration of Servia and Rumania, or of settlement of the specific issues which had brought the United States into the war. Serious consideration was given to the pronunciamento only because it was felt that it represented the German and particularly the Austrian point of view, and was indirectly inspired by Erzberger and his Teutonic fellows.

AN indirect answer to the plea was made by Lloyd George two days later when he told the Commons that "this is a fight to the finish." He made clear his conviction that the character of the finish was certain. Gross losses to British shipping, he showed by the most exact figures yet published, were fast diminishing. They were 560,000 tons in the first month of the submarine campaign; they were 320,000 tons for June; for July and August they are expected to be 175,000 tons each. English shipbuilding has been speeded up till the total tonnage launched this year will be 1,900,000, while better organization makes it possible for the same ship to carry increased freight. The reserves of food have been increased by millions of quarters of grain. The British and French have beaten the Germans in several great battles, the Russians are recovering, and America's great strength is coming to bear. Later Lord Robert Cecil also indicated the unacceptability of the Pope's proposals. The answer of the Allies of Western Europe will be given after a conference, as will that of Germany and her allies. America's answer will be made in a separate communication. Ambassador Bakhmetev indicates that the Russian reply will be unfavorable.

THE British have captured Langemarck and Langemarck Ridge beyond Ypres, and near Lens have taken the commanding Hill 70 and other German positions on a two-mile front, including three villages. Lens is now all but cut off. The total British captures were 2,900 men and a number of guns. The French have also made advances and taken prisoners north of Ypres. But the chief French achievement has been a stroke on the Verdun front, where the Germans were thrown back along eleven miles to a depth at some points of a mile and a quarter, and the first reports stated that more than 4,000 prisoners had been taken. Simultaneously the Italians opened a heavy offensive on the Isonzo front, crossing the Isonzo River and in the first day taking more than 10,000 prisoners. On the eastern front the Austro-Germans and Russo-Rumanians have won alternate successes, but the latter have now been pushed beyond the Sereth. Berlin announces that in the month beginning July 19 the Teutonic allies captured on this front 41,965 men, 257 guns, 548 machine guns, and large stores of material.

PREMIER KERENSKY has cast fresh light upon his attitude towards the Stockholm Conference by an interview in which he states that he thinks the meeting important, and has "insisted again and again that any opposition offered to it by the Allied Governments is simply playing into German hands." Bonar Law has declared that the British Government will not change its refusal to issue passports to delegates, and the other Western Allies will not do so.

AMERICAN military preparations go forward swiftly. Two composite divisions of the National Guard have been formed of units drawn from all over the country, to the number of 19,000 men each, are now being mobilized in separate camps on Long Island for early dispatch to France. The figure of 687,000 men for the national army is being steadily approached by the process of examining and drafting men; the army will go into camp in three sections, the first to be mobilized by September 5 and the rest to follow within a month. Thirty-two major-generals have been assigned to take charge of the 923,000 men in the combined national army and National Guard, with department commanders, Wood, Bell, Pershing, Barry being among them. The first series of officers' training camps has graduated 27,341 men as commissions, and a smaller number will become non-commissioned officers. There are now more than 505,000 men in the regular army, with the number increasing steadily. It was announced on August 18 that there was a total of 943,141 men in the armed service of the nation exclusive of the draft army and reserve officers, this number wholly representing volunteers. The parade of a large contingent of newly arrived American troops in London August 15 evoked tremendous enthusiasm.

A RIDICULOUS charge made public by the Navy League, to the effect that Secretary Daniels was suppressing inquiry into the explosion of a magazine at the Mare Island navy yard last July through fear of labor interests which had been implicated in the conspiracy alleged to have caused the disaster, has been answered with asperity. Secretary Daniels has cut off all connection between that body and the navy, and barred its representatives from ships and naval reservations, until its officership is changed.

ELIHU ROOT, formally welcomed with his colleagues of the Russian Mission in New York August 16, warmly denounced the pro-German propaganda remaining in the United States, declaring that there were men walking in New York streets "who ought to be taken out at sunrise to-morrow morning and shot for treason," and newspapers "the editors of which deserve conviction and execution." His remarks were echoed by Charles Edward Russell, who also attacked Senator La Follette's resolution demanding a statement of America's objects in the war. Col. Roosevelt has appealed to the police "to make short shrift of these papers and these street-talking traitors." President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, has denounced the People's Council as engaging in a "nefarious propaganda of treachery," and John Spargo charges it with conducting a programme "in the interests of Germany and formulated at Potsdam." Its convention at Minneapolis September 1 will be countered by a patriotic convention under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor at the same time.

IN New York city the Democratic Committee of 170 has nominated County Judge John F. Hylan, of Brooklyn, as its nominee for Mayor against the regular Fusion organization supporting Mitchel. This body is a stalking-horse for Tammany, and it is indicated that Hylan many will accept its nomination; the candidate is palpably weak, but had the support of the Democratic leader in Brooklyn, McCooey, and of various others including Hearst. Justice Cropsey, who was many hoped would lead a fight in the Republican primaries against Mayor Mitchel, has declined to do so, and announced support of the Mayor.

THE Food Administration has incorporation, with capital stock of $10,000,000 held wholly by the Government, to buy and sell wheat at the prices fixed. Herbert Hoover is chairman of the ...nes, of Minneapolis, experienced in the grain trade, is president; the ... in New York city. ... in the sugar was suspended on August 16 in accordance with a suggestion from Hoover.

THE total ... British ships sunk by submarines ... the week ended August 15 is again ... satisfyingly low. Fourteen vessels ... over 1,600 tons were sunk, as against ... one the week, and two ... 1,600 tons. The convention of sea ... London regarding a number of ne... well as the countries has denou... an crimes, and proposes ... of ships and sailors afte...

CHINA, following Siam ... Liberia, has declared war against the German Empire, and has taken over all German vessels and banks. The declaration extends to Austria-Hungary. President Feng Kuo-Chang proclaimed that the step was taken reluctantly because it would add to the suffering caused by the recent political disturbances, but that "I could not bear to think that the dignity of international law should be impaired through us."

A FIRST step to remedy the disorganized condition of the coal industry was taken when on August 20 President Wilson appointed Judge Lovett a Federal agent to govern coal shipments under the Priority act. Judge Lovett the same day ordered forty-six railways running from the coal regions of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia to give the right of way to shipments of bituminous coal bound for the Northwest by way of the Great Lakes. Further action, leading to Federal regulation of the price of coal, is expected, and will be based chiefly on a report on the coal situation which the Federal Trade Commission has prepared.

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